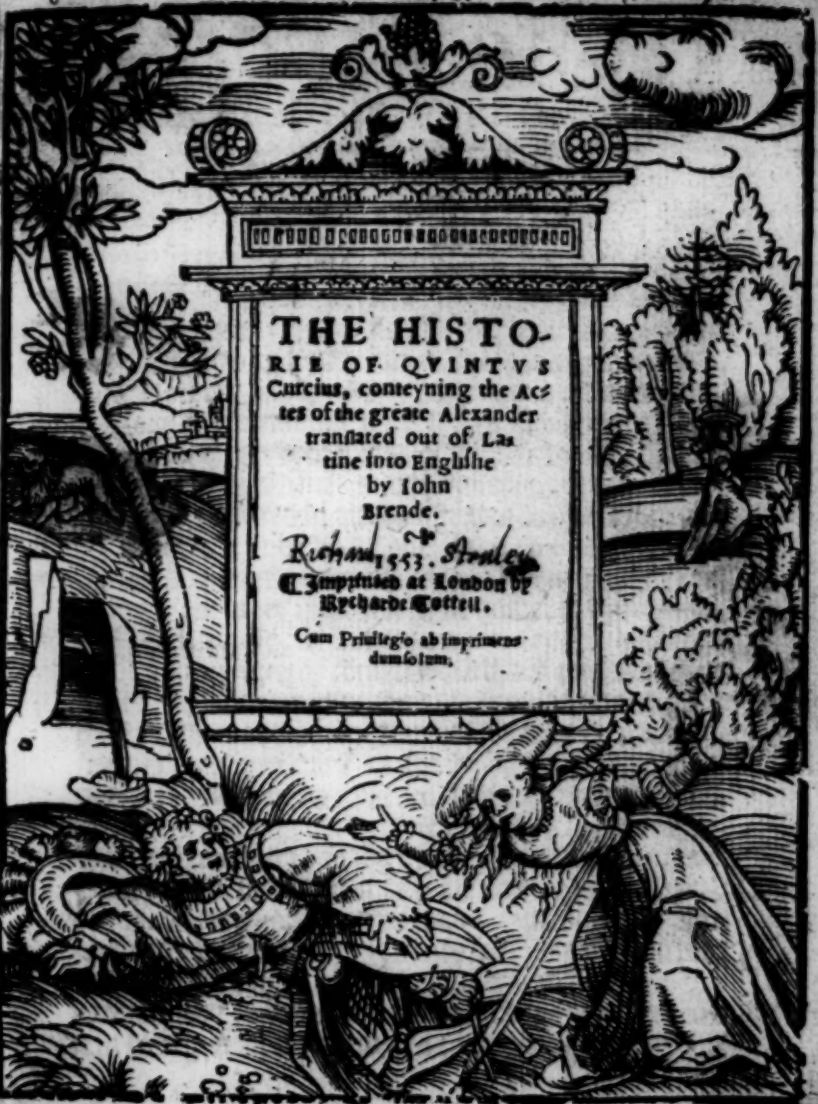
O.L. Merriam. 1884.



THE HISTORIE OF QVINTVS Curcius, conteyning the Actes of the greate Alexander translated out of Latine into Englishe by Iohn Brende.

Richard Stroudley 1553.

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TO THE RIGHT

hyghe and myghtye Prince, Jhon Duke of Northumberlande, Earle marshall of Englande. &c. John Biende wisheth continuall prosperitie, with increase of honour.

Ric. Stanley.

MAnye haue wrytten, and experyence beſydes declareth, how neceſſatye hiſtorical knowledge is to all kynd of men, but ſpecially to princes, and to others which excel in dignitye or heare auctho-rytye in eny commune wealth: the ſame beyng counted the moſt excellent kynde of knowledge, the chiefeſt parte of ciuyl prudence, and the mirrour of mans lyfe. There is requited in all magiſtrates both a fayeth and feare in God, and alſo an outwarde policye in worldly thynges, wherof as the one is to be learned by ỹ ſcryptures, ſo the other muſt chiefly be gathered by readyng of hiſtories. For in them men may ſee the grounde and beginnynges of cõmen wealthes, ỹ cauſes of their encreaſe, of their proſperous mayntenaũce, and good preſeruation: and againe by what meanes they decreaſed, decayed, and came to ruyne. There the vertues and vices of men do appeare, howe by their good doynges they flouriſhed, & by their euil actes they decayed. How they proſpered ſo log as they mainteyned iuſtice, perſecutd vice, vſed clemencye & mercye, were liberal, religyous, vertuous, and voyde of couetouſnes. And contrarwiſe, howe they fell into manifold calamityes, miſeries, & troubles, when they embraced vyce and forſoke vertue. In hiſtoryes it is apparãt how daũgerous it is to begyn alterations in a cõmen wealth. How en-

uy & hatredes oft risyng vpō small causes, haue ben the destruction of great kyngdomes. And that disobeyers of hygher powers, & suche as rebellyd agaynst magystrates, neuer escapyd punyshment, nor came to good end. In theym there be presydentys for all cases that may happē, in folowyng the good, in eschuyng the euyl. in auoydyng incōuenyences, & in forseyng mischiefes. In them may be learnyd how to temper in prosperitye, how to endure in aduersytye, & after what maner men should vse them selues both in tyme of peace & warre. As in all artes there be certeyne pryncyples and rules for men to folowe, so in hystoryes there be ensamples paynted out of all kynde of vertues, wherin both the dignitye of vertue, & foulenes of vyce, appeareth much more lyuelye then in eny morall teachyng: there beyng expressed by way of ensample, all that Philosophy doth teach by waye of precepts. Thys is suche a kynde of knowledge, as make men apt euē wyth small experyēce eyther to gouerne in publyke matters, or in their owne pryuate affayres: For by cōparyng thynges past, wyth thynges presente, men maye easelye gather what is to be folowyd, and what is to be eschuyd. And he whyche can reade thē wyth such iudgement, watyng the tymes wyth the causes and occasions of thynges, shall bothe see moste deepelye in all matters, best declare hys opynion, & wynne most estymacīō of prudence & wysdome. For if aged men be estemyd for the wysest by reason of their experyēce. Or if Homer paynted forth in ỹ person of Ulyxes, the ymage of a perfyte wyse man: imputyng the cause therof, to the knowledge he hadde gatheryd by trauelyng many coūtreyes, & by bewyng and matchyng the customes and maners of dyuers nacyons.

Then

Then such as be wel experte in hystories and by the well applying of them, can take the due fruite perteyning to the same: must nedes obteygne profeccions of iudgement, with a stable and grounded rypenesse. For in them men may beholde as it were before there eies, both the whole worlde, and the gouernment therof, with the policies and lawes, the discipline customes & maners of al people from the begynnyng. Thys is suche a thyng, that who so euer is clerely voyde of it, though he be endued wyth neuer so greate a wytte otherwise, with such aptnes of nature, or other goodly vertues. Yet when he shall haue to do in weyghtye affaires, he shall fynde a certeigne mayme and imperfection, not onely in myll gouernment, but also in the matters perteining to the warre.

For al though in an excellent capitaine nature must geue the chiefest partes, that is to say: hardines, stowtenes of stomacke, wyth a natural wisdome and vnderstanding: by which qualities onely (experience therunto adioyned) diuers haue become famous capitaines.

Yet thys is a thynge that geueth a greter politye, groundeth a deaper Iudgemente, addeth a further ornament and glory, and formeth a perfitnes & an excellencie in a shorter space. The shortnes of a mans lieke shortened beside so manye casualties, is the cause that men be taken awaye before the canne get suche an actual experience as may make the perfite, and commonly become rotten, before they canne attayne to a ripenes in knowledge. But by thys kynd of learning in youth a man is become aged, he hathe knowledge wythout experience, he is wyse before it is loked for, he is become a counceiour the firste houre, and a man of warre the fyrste daye. The same thynge hath bene

verified

verified in manye, whych in young age haue bene pru-
dente counsellours, and in small experience politique
capitaynes. Alexander hereof is an euidente ensam-
ple, who brought vp vnder Aristotle in learnynge, and
so geuen to this kinde of studye, that he had Homer al-
wayes laied vnder his beddes hede (whereby he myght
be admonished of the vertues and office of an excel-
lent Prynce) entered into hys kingdome, whan he was
but .xx. yeares of age: and neuertheleſſe bothe eſtabli-
shed hys owne eſtate, with ſuche prudence, that with-
in ſhorte ſpace (beſides the enlargynge of hys owne
boundes) he ſubdued the greateſt parte of the worlde.
And albeit he began ſo young, and continued ſo ſmale
tyme: yet no mans actes be comparable to his: beinge
counted the moſt excellente captayne from the begyn-
nyng. But if eny man wyl impute the greatnes of his
doynges to the perfyte diſciplyne the Macedons vſed
in the warres, and to the politique Capitaynes, and
expert ſouldiers, left to hym by hys father Philyp: it
ſhal appeare euydētly by the decaye of Realmes when
they haue bene gouerned by imprudent Prynces, and
by the ouerthrowes the Romaynes receyued when
they were conducted by cuyll Capitaines, that no pru-
dence of counſellours can take place, nor eny diſci-
plyne or experience of the ſouldiours can auayle, if the
heade be not a mā of excellēt vertue. There is nothyng
newe vnder the Sunne (as the wyſeman ſaith) and it
is impoſſible for eny thing to chaūce either in the war
or in cōmon policye, but that the lyke maye be founde
to haue chaunced in times paſt. All which thinges laied
vp in memorye, as in a place of ſtore: mē may alwayes
be furniſhed for all chaunces that maye occurre.
Seeing hiſtories be then ſo good and neceſſary, it were
much

muche requisite for mens instruccion, that they were translated into suche tonges as most men myght vnderstād them: and specially the hystories of antiquitye, whych both for the greatnes of the actes done in those dates, and for the excellencie of the writers haue much maiestye and many ensamples of vertue. ¶ Therfore hauyng alwayes desired that we englishmē might be founde as forwarde in that behalfe as other nations, which haue brought all worthie hystories into their naturall language, did a fewe yeares paste attempte the translacion of Quintus Curtius, and lately vpon an occasion performed & accomplished the same. Whych auctour treating of thactes of ỳ great Alexāder, being figured in the Prophetes, Jeremie & Danyel, & mencioned in the first boke of ỳ Machabies, seme to haue bene borne, and brought forth into the world, not without a moofte speciall prouidence and predestinacion of god: who prospered so his procedinges that (as Justine writeth) he neuer encountred with eny enemyes whō he ouercame not, he besieged no cītye that he wanne not, nor assailed nation that he subduednot. Thys so worthie a matter ¶ thoughte good to dedicate vnto youre grace, folowyng their ensample that haue trauayled in the like studye, whiche are wonte to declare their good willes, by bestowyng of their labours.

Therunto ¶ was also moued ỳ rather, by considering ỳ qualities of your grace, which seme to haue certeine affinitie and resemblaunce wyth such as were ỳ very vertues in Alexander. For Arrianus writeth of hym ỳ he was of a semelie stature, bolde in his enterpryses, stowte of stomack, moderate in pleasures, wise in counsayle, and prouident to forsee thynges. That he was excellent in conductyng of an armye, moste politique

in

in orderyng hys battailes, that he could encourage his
souldiers wyth apt wordes, and when neade required
take part of their peril. What partes of this be in your
grace, let them iudge that haue knowen your actes in
the warres, and your excellent seruice done, both in the
time of the kinges maiestie that nowe is, and also in
his fathers dayes of most famous memorye. Al-
though in doing hereof I haue not paraduen-
ture satisfied al mens expectacyons, yet my
trust is, that your grace will accept the
same in good part, and consider that
in a translacion a man can not
alwayes vse is owne vaine,
but shalbe compelled to tread
in the authores steppis:
Whyche is harder,
and a more dif-
ficulte
thynge to do, then to
walke his owne
pace.

¶The firste boke of

Quintus Curtius. supplied of the actes of the greate Alexander Kyng of Macedonie.

(.·.)

PHilip of Macedonie whiche by subduynge of Greece. dyd first bryng his countrey in reputacion. was the sonne of Amintas. a man endued with wisdome. hardines. & all other vertues of a noble capitaine. The same Amintas had by Euridice his wife thre sonnes. Alexander. Perdicas. and Philip. who was the father of great. Alexāder: with a doughter also called Euriones. The Quene Euridice being in amoures with one that had maried her doughter. conspired the death of the kyng her husband. to thintent to haue maried with her sonne in lawe. and to make him king. whiche thing she had brought to effect. had not the treason and wherdom of the mother. ben opened by the doughter in tyme. After the death of Amyntas Alexander the eldest sonne enioyed his fathers kyngdome whiche in the beginning of his raigne was so assailed on all sides. that he was driuen of force to purchase peace of Thillyrians with money by geuing his brother Philip in hostage. And afterwardes by the same pledge made a like peace with the Thebans. whiche was thoccasiō that Philip dyd atteine to suche excellency of knowledge and wisdome. for by reason that he was committed to the custodie of Epimanundas. beyng both

Amyntas king of Macedon.

Euridice.

Alexander

Epymanundas.

a valiant capteyn and an excellent philosopher.he was brought vp in the trade of honest disciplines and Princely maners. wherin he greatly profited vnder a philosopher of Pythagoras schole.whom Eppmanundas keapt in his house for thenstruccion of his sonne. In the meane season Alexander was slaine by the meanes of Euridice his mother.whose former treason kyng Amyntas her husband had pardoned in respecte of the chyldren had betwene them. little thinkyng that she would afterwardes haue bene their distruccion. For when Alexander was dead. she caused in like maner her other sonne Perdicas to be slayne: whiche Perdicas lefte behinde hym one sonne being a young babe. About thesame tyme Philip the yongest brother being by good happe escaped out of prison retorned into Macedon.and not taking vpon hym the name of kyng.remayned a great while no otherwise but as Gouernour or tutor to his yōg neuewe. Neuertheles afterwardes by occasion of sundry myscheefes growing in the state. thesame being suche as might not well hang till the yong kyng should come to his age.for that he apered to be a man of singuler actiuitie. and of no lesse skylle in feates of warre than in knowledge of philosophie.was compelled by the people to take vpon hym the kingdom of Macedon. whiche as than stode in hard plight. and great daunger of ruyne. This was done. 400. yeare after the building of Rome and the. 105. Olympiade. In the beginning of his raigne he was combred with infinite troubles.for all the contries nere about (as it were by a generall conspiracie) moued warre against him.and at one tyme sondrie nacions swarmyd together out of sondrie partes to ouerronne his kyngdom. Wherfore considering that it stode hym vpon to worke warely (being not able to mache them all at ones) pacified

Perdicas.

Philip.

cykied some with fayre promyses, other with money. and the weakest he withstode with force. whereby he bothe made his enemies afrayed. and confirmed the hertes of his people. whiche he found discouraged. and in great doubte. These thinges he wrought withgreat sleight and fynenes of wytte. in suche sorte that he mynysshed not any parte of his honour. estate. or reputacion determinyng neuertheless as tyme should serue to deale with euery one aparte. His first warre was with the Athenyens whome he ouercame by sleyght and policie. And where it laye in his power to haue put them all to the swoorde. he let them all at libertie without raunsome. By whiche poinct of clemencie (though it was but conterfaite. for it was done for feare of a greater warre at hand) yet it gat hym great good will and estimacion vniuersally. After that he subdued the Peons. and fromthence turned his power against the Illyrians. of whome he slewe many thousandes. and wanne the noble Cytie of Larissa. That done he moued warre against the Tessalians. not for any desire of their goodes. or spoyle of their Countrey. but of a policie to adde to his strength the force of their horsemen. whiche at those dayes were counted the chiefe of the worlde. whiche his purpose he brought to passe. for beyng sodeinly assailed. they were sone brought to subiection. So Philip ioyned the force of their horsemen vnto his footemen. whereby he made his powre inuincible. After all these thinges beyng happely brought to passe. he toke to wyfe Olympias one of the daughters of Neoptolemus kyng of the Molossons. whiche mariage was cōcluded by ỹ meanes of Arisba. who hauig ỹ gouernemēt of Olympias was become king by ỹ mariage of her other sister called Troada. This mariage whiche he thought to haue made for his quertie turned

Philips first warre was with the Athenyens.

Peons.

Illyrians.

Tessalians.

Olimpias Philippes wyfe.

Arisba.

Troada

afterwardes to his subuercion. For thynking to haue made him self strong by thaffinitie of Philip, he was at length by hym depryued of the hole kyngdome, ending his life myserably in exile: Not long after this mariage kyng Philip dreamed that he sawe his wiues wombe wonderfully swollen, and to his seming a liuely Image of a lion thereuppō, by whiche dreame the deuyners & dreame readers, did enterprete that his wyfe was cōceiued of a chylde that should be of a lions hert and courage: with whiche interpretaciō he was mitch pleased. Afterwardes at thassault of a citie called Methron by shot of an arrowe he loste his right eie. Wher of though the displeasure was great, yet was he contēt vpon their submissiō, to take them to mercy. He wanne also the cytie of Pagus and annexed the same vnto his kingdome: He inuaded the lande of the Triballes, and at one instant conquered it with all the contreis thereaboute. Thus hauyng made his kyngdome strong by subduing his neighbours, at his retournyng home his wyfe Olympias was deliuered of his sonne Alexander, the .8. daye of Aprill: Of these good fortunes the kyng reioyced no lesse than reason was, hauyng stablysshed his contrey at home, subdued his enemies abrode, and gotten an heire to succede in his kyngdome. He coulde haue desired no more of God, if the mynde of man could euer be satisfied, whiche the more it hath the more it coueteth: And as the dominion encreaseth, so doth also the desire to haue more. Which was wel seen in Philip that still did compasse howe to growe great, by taking from his neighbours, and laye alwayes like a spie, awayting tyme and occasion howe to catche frō euerie man, whereunto he had occasion mynistred by the Cyties of Greace, for whiles one did couet to subdue an other, and through ambicion were at strife who

Philippes dreame.

Methron.

Pagus.

Tryballes.

The byrthe of Alexand.

shoulde be chiefe, by one and one, at laste he brought all to subiection, firste persuadyng the smaler states to moue warre agaynste the greater, and to serue his purpose contryued the wayes to set them all together by the eares, but at lenght when his practises were perceyued, dyuers Cyties fearyng his encrease, confeadered agaynste hym, as their commen ennemye, and namely the Thebans. Neuertheles in a necessitie when they were dryuen to wage men of warre, they chose hym to be there generall Capitaine agaynste the Lacedemonians, and the Phoceans, whiche had spoyled the temple of Apollo. This warre he honorablie acheued, so that by pounyshement of their sacrylege, he gat hym selfe great honour in all those places. But in thende espyeng either of those Countreis to be brought lowe with warre, he founde the meanes to subdue both the one and the other compellyng as well the ouercommers, as the ouercomme to be his Tributaries and subiectes. Then made he a voyage into Cappadoce, where killyng, and takyng all the Princes there aboutes prisoners, reducede the hole prouince to the subiection of Macedon. He conquered Olinthus, and within a while put his foote in Thrace. For where the two Kynges of that countrey were at variaunce aboute the limites of ther kyngdomes, and choyse hym to be Arbitrer, he gladly toke it vpon hym, but at the daye appointed for the Jugement, he came not thither like a Judge in a Counsell, but like a warrier with an army, and to parte the strife expulsid both the partes from their kyngdomes. By this time yong Alexander was of twelue yeares of age, and began to take great delyght in the feates of warre, shewyng moste manifeste signes of noble harte and Princely courage. He was very swifte of foote, and one daie at a solempne

Philip chosen Captain agaynst the Phoceans and the Lacedemonians

The towardnes of Alexander.

game of ronnyng called Olimpiacum, beyng demaunded by some of his Companions whether he would ronne a rase with them: gledly (quod he) If I had kynges sonnes to ronne withall. Another tyme when certayne Embassadours of the Persians came into Macedon. Alexander whiche in his fathers absence toke vpon hym their entertaynement and deuising with them of diuers thinges, and in all his communication there neuer passed from hym one chyldishe or vaine worde, but either he enquired the state of their Countrey, the maners of the people, the distance of the waies, the powre of their kyng, or the order of his warres and suche other like. So that the Embassadours hauing mervaill therat, esteamed the prouffe of the father to be muche lesse thē the towardnes of the sonne, and that his courage was muche more then was to be loked for in one of his yeres. As oftē as tidinges came that the kyng his father had wonne any stronge or ryche Towne, or obteyned any notable victory, he neuer seamed greatly joyfull, but would saye to his playe fellowes, my father doth so many great actes, that he will leaue no occasion of any notable thing for vs to do together. Suche were his wordes, suche was his talke: whereby it was easy to cōiecture what a mā he would after proue in age, whiche so begā in youth. His delight was not set in any kynde of pleasure, or gredines of gayne, but in the only exercise of vertue, and desire of honoure. And the more aucthoritie ẏ he receiued of his father, the lesse he would seame to beare. And although by the great encrease of his fathers dominion, it semed that he should haue the lesse occasion to vse the warres yet he did not set his delight in vayne pleasure, or heapyng vp of treasure, but sought all the meanes he could to vse mercial feates, and exercises of warre, coueting

suche

ſuche a kingdome, wherein for his vertue and proues he might purchaſe fame and immortalitie, whiche hope neuer deceiued Alexander nor any other. when it happeneth in a mā of vertue and noble hert, that hath wille or occaſion to put the ſame in vre. The charge and gouernaunce of this young Prince was committed to ſondrie excellēt Maiſters and Gouernours, but chiefly to the greate Philoſopher Ariſtotle, whoſe vertue, learnyng, and knowledge, kynge Philip ſo muche eſtemed, that he would often ſaye: he toke no greater comforte in the byrthe of his ſonne, then in that he was prouided of ſuche a Maiſter for hym as Ariſtotle, vnder whoſe tuicion he remayned ten yeares. Many thynges there chaunſed beſydes, whereby it was coniectured that Alexander ſhould proue a man of greate valoure. For when his father ſent to Delphos to receyue aunſwere of the goddes who ſhould be his ſucceſſour, the Oracle was geuen that ſuche one ſhould not only ſuccede hym, but alſo be Lorde of the worlde, whom Bucephalus would ſuffre to ſytte vppon hys back. This Bucephalus was a paſſyng fayre horſe, fyerſe and full of courage, whiche Philip had brought of a Teſſalien for thirtene talentes, and becauſe of his fierſenes kept hym within a brake of Iron barres, yet for all that he remayned ſo fell & wode that none durſte come nere to dreſſe hym. Whereof the kyng was ſo wery that he would fayne haue bene ridde of the horſe. It fortuned that Alexander came one day with his father vnto ỹ ſtable, what a horſe (qō he) is marred here for lack of good handling, & with that came more nere, and without any great difficulty gat vpon his back, & vſed both ỹ ſpurre & the rodde to thuttermoſte, both ruīning & mānagīng him vp & down, whiche ỹ horſe abide very well. And hauing ridden his fil brought back the

Alexander was cōmitted to the gouernementes of Ariſtotle.

The oracle at Delphos

Bucephalꝰ

horse againe. As he alighted the kyng for ioye embra-
sed and kissed hym, and with teares in his eyes sayde:
O sonne seke some other kingdome mete for thy harte,
for Macedon cannot suffise. So that euen then the
forseeing father did full well perceiue all his possession
farre insufficient for his sonnes harte. After this
kyng Philip determined to make warre againste all
Greace, for the maintenaunce whereof he thought it
Byzancium great auauntage, if he myght firste wynne Byzancium
a famous Citie on the see coaste, wherfore committing
the charge & gouernement of his Realme to his sonne
being then .15. yeares olde, he laide siege to the Towne
whiche made him great resistaunce. When he had con-
sumed all his riches and treasure about the siege, he
was driuen to so narrowe shifte, that to furnisshe hym
selfe of money, he became a Pyrat and roued on the
sea, where he toke .170. shippes all the spoile wherof he
departed amonges his souldiers. And lette his hole
Armye should be detayned about the wynnyng of that
towne he sorted out the moste chosen bandes of all his
Souldiers, and went into Gersonesus, where he toke
and put to sack manye notable Townes. Because his
sonne Alexander was then about .18. yeares olde and
had shewed euident proufe of his vertue and manhod
in all his attemptes: His father sent for hym thither to
thentent he might in his warres learne and exercise
all feates belongyng to a Souldier, & with hym made
a voyage into Scythia, vpon no other quarell but to
spoyle the Countrey. Thus vsing the practise of Mer-
chauntes, with the gayne of one warre bare out the
charges of an other. After he had brought the contrey
The bote Philip brought out of Scythia. in subiection, because no riches of gold nor siluer was
to be gotten there, he caried thens .20. thousand of me.
women and children, besides a great multitude of Cat-
taile

taile. with. 20. thousand choyse mares to make a race in Macedon. In his retourne frō thence he was encoū-tred with the Triballes. whiche denied him passage. except they myght haue part of his boutie. whereuppon debating of the matter. from wordes they fell to fyghting. whereat Kynge Philip was so wounded in his thighe. that the violence of the stroke ranne through the body of his horse. whereof all men iudgyng hym to be slayne. the boty was lost therby. Assone as he was recouered of his hurte. his long dissembled grudge against the Athenians braste out so farre fourth. that he made open warre vpon them. By reason whereof the Thebanes seing the fyer so nere at hande. gaue succours to their neighbours. fearing leste if the Athenās were ouercome. thend of the warres should tourne vpon them. Wherefore the Cyties that a little before were mortall ennemies one to another. confederated togithers in one leage. and sent their Embassadours through all Greece. persuading it to be moste mete with a common ayde to withstande a cōmon enemy. Some considering the peril to be vniuersall stake to the Athenians. And some fearing Philips power encreasyng. and the other decayeng toke parte with hym. In this warre Alexander was made Capitayne of one of the battailles. wherein his noble hert and courage did well apeare. specially when it came to the stroke of the fight. for there he acquited him self so valiauntly þ he semed not inferiour vnto his father. nor to any man els. but by moste iuste desert got the honour of the victory. Albeit he was defrauded thereof by the enuie & sleight of his father. as he him self complayned afterwardes. This battaile was fought at Cherony. wherin though the Athenians were the greater nombre. yet were they ouercome by the Macedones. beyng the fewer. but yet

Philip was woūded by the Tribals

The Thebans and other Cities conspired against Philip.

The battail at Cherony.

experte Souldiers by reason of their long and continuall practise in warres: neuertheleſſe the Athenians as men not vumyndful of their former honoure ſpent their liues valiantly. That day made an ende of al the Grekes glory, aſwell of their large rule & gouernaūce, as alſo of their moſte auncient fredome and libertie: whiche beyng hardly wonne, and long tyme kept, was thus loſt in a moment. For theſe and many other experimentes of the valour and proues in yong Alexander, although the kyng his father did alwayes beare hym ſinguler affection and fauour, yet neuertheles by certayn occaſions enſuyng it was vnhappely broken. For Philip beyng maried to Olimpias mother of Alexander (as is ſayed before) toke to wyfe beſides her, one Cleopatra, whereupon fell great diſcorde and vnkindnes betwene the father and the ſonne. The occaſion was geuen by one Attalus vncle of Cleopatra, who beyng at the new mariage, exhorted ỹ multitude to make prayers to the Goddes to ſend betwene the kyng and his nece a laufull heire to ſucceede in the kyngdome of Macedon. Whereat Alexander beyng moued: Thou naughty villaine (qō he) doeſt thou coūte me a baſtarde? And with that worde ſlange the Cuppe at his head. The kyng hearyng this, roſe vp, and with his ſwoord drawen, ran at his ſonne, who by ſwaruyng with his body, auoided the ſtroke, ſo that it did no harme. Whereupon Alexander with many ſtowte and diſpiteful wordes departed from his father, and went with his mother into Epirus. Neuertheles ſone after, by the meane of one Demoratus a Corinthian, who perſwaded the kyng that this diſcorde was nothyng for his honoure, Alexander was ſent for agayne, and muche labour and greate meanes was made before they could be well reconciled. Wherefore to confirme this atonement there

The diſſenſiō betwixt Philip and Alexander. Cleopatra.

Epirus.

Demoratus

was

was a mariage made betwene Alexander the brother of Olympiades (whome Philip by the expulsion of Arisba had made kynge of Epirus) and Cleopatra the newe Quenes doughter. The triumphe of that daye was notable accordyng to the state and magnificence of suche two Princes, the one bestowing his doughter, and the other marieng a wyfe. There were set furth sondry notable playes and deuises plesaunt to beholde. And as kyng Philip betwene the two Alexanders, the one his natural sonne, and the other his sonne in lawe, was passyng through the preasse without any guarde: One Pausanias a young man of the nobilitie of Macedon, when no man suspected any suche thing, sodainly slewe him starcke dead, making that day whiche was apointed to Ioye and triumphe, lamentable and dolorous by the death of suche a prince. This Pausanias being a boie was enforced by Attalus to the vnnatural vse of his body, whiche not content to do so himself, at an other open banket caused diuers of his familiars to abuse him likewyse, with whiche shame and villany the young man beyng sore greued (as reason would) complayned to the kyng, whome although the dishonestie of the matter moued muche, yet for the loue he bare to Attalus, and for the respect of his seruice forbare to vse any reformacion in the matter. This Attalus was very nere vnto the kynge and in speciall fauoure, by reason he was kynsman vnto the Quene Cleopatra whō Philip had laste maried: He was also elected generall Capytayne of the kynges Armye prepared to passe into Asia, as one that was bothe valiaunt of hys persone, and no lesse politique in the feates of warre vpon these respectes the kynge endeuoured by all the meanes he coulde to pacefie Pausanias (beyng kyndled with moste iuste cause of grief) alswell by

The death of Philip.

Pausanias.

Attalus.

geuyng

gyuing hym great giftes and promocions. as placing hym honourably amongeſt thoſe Jentlemē that were for the guarde of his perſone. But all this could not appeaſe the iuſt rage of his Jre. whiche wrought ſo in hym. that he determined to be reuenged. not only vpon Attalus that dyd the villony. but alſo vpon the kynge that would not miniſter iuſtice. Whiche determinacion he put in effect. as is ſayd before. Many thynges myght be ſayd more of the doynges and ſayenges of this Philip. but one thyng aboue an other is to be noted. that although for the more parte he was alwayes occupied in the tourmoyle of the warres. and other like buſines. yet had he euer ſuche affeccion to the ſtudies of humanitie and good learnyng. that he both did and ſpake many thynges worthy memory. whiche were both witty and pleſaunt. He lyued ſeuen and fourty yeares. and reigned. xxv. yeares beyng the. xviii. kynge of the Macedons. as they reigned in order.

(.*.)

¶ The seconde boke

of Quintus Curtius, supplied of the actes of Alexander the greate, kyng of Macedonie.

(.·.)

Ric. Stanley

When Philip was dead, his sonne whiche for the greatnes of his actes was afterwardes called the great Alexander toke vpon him the kyngdome the .426. yeare after the buylding of Rome, being of the age of .20. yeares. His state stode at that tyme subiect to muche enuie, hatred, and hasard from all partes. For the nacions and prouinces bordering vpon hym could not wel beare their present bondage, and euery one of them sought howe to recouer agayne their auncient dominion and enheritaunce. The first thyng he attempted after he was kyng was the greuous execution he dyd vpon as manye as hadde conspiryd his fathers death whyche done, he celebrated his funeralles with great pompe. Concernyng his estate he sone establysshed it, and that muche better than any man could haue imagyned, in one beyng of so yong and tendre yeares, for beyng of some had in contempt, and of some suspected to be cruell, towardes the one he bare hym self so stoutely, that he toke from them all contempt, and to the other so gentylly, that their ymagened feare of his cruell disposition was cleane taken away. he graunted vnto the Macedons fredom and priuiledge from all exaccion and bondage, sauing from the seruice of warre, by whiche act he got so great fauour and loue amonges his people that all affirmed by one consent, howe the persone of their kynge was chaunged and not his vertue, his name was altered, but

Alexander toke vpon hym as kyng the .20. yere of his age.

but not his good gouernement. In the beginning of his raigne rebellion was made against hym on all sydes. he by and by with an incredible stowtenes and cõstancy of mynde stayed all their tumultes. which thyng pacified and set in ordre. he went to Corinthe in Peloponese. where callyng a generall Counsell of all the states of Greece. he was elected their generall Capitain against the Persians. whiche before tyme had afflicted Greece with many plagues. and at that present possessed the greatest Empire in the world. his father had purposed that warre before. but the preuencio of death was the cause he brought not his purpose to passe. Whiles he was in preparacion of this enterprise. he was enfourmed howe the Athenians. the Thebanes. and Lacedemonians were reuolted from hym. and confederate with the Persians. and all by meanes of an Oratour called Demosthenes. whiche was corrupted by them with a great somme of money. For the reformacion whereof Alexander so sodeynly had prepared an Army. wherewith he came vpon them. that they could scarsely beleue they sawe hym present. of whose commyng they had not herde before. In his way he practysed wyth the Tessalians. and vsed to them suche gentle wordes and apte persuasions. by puttyng them in remembraunce of his fathers benefites. and of the auncient kyndrede betwene thē by the discent frō Hercules. that he brought them to the pointe. that by an vniuersall decre of the hole Countrey. he was created their Gouernour. So great was the celeritie that this young man vsed. and his diligence so effectuall in all his doynges. that he brought all suche in feare of hym. as before turned from hym. and regarded hym litle. As the Athenians were the firste that fayled. so they firste of all repented. and extolled with

Corinthe.

Alexander elected Capitain generall against the Persians

Demosthenes.

prayses

prayses Alexanders chyldhode, whyche before they had despysed, aboue the vertue of the auncient conquerours. They also sent Embassadours to require of hym peace, whome he sore rebuked when they came to his presence, but yet was content at length to remytte their offence. And although Demosthenes was chosen one of the Embassadours, yet he came not to his Prince, but from Cythron returned agayne to Athens, whiche his doyng was ether for feare that he had so often rayled agaynst Philip, and stoored the Atheniens agaynst hym, or els to take away the suspicion of hym selfe from the kynge of Perrie, of whome it was sayd that he had receyued a great somme of gold to stand agaynste the Macedons. The same thyng was layed agaynste hym by Aesthines in an Oracion, where he saieth: presently the kynges gold doth beare his charges, but that can not laste hym long, seyng noryches can suffise his prodigall luyng. Aesthynes

When Alexander had pacified those stirres that were begonne in Grece, before he would passe his Army into Asia, he made a iourney agaynst the Peones, the Triballes, and Thillirians, because he vnderstode they were conspiryng togethers. And for that they bordred vppon hys Countrey: and were wonte to inuade thesame vpon euery occasion, thought to set stay amonges them before he would remoue hys power so farre of. From the Cytie of Amphipolis therefore he set forewardes agaynste the Tracians, whiche at that tyme were not vnder the rule or lawe of any man. And in ten dayes came to the mount Hemus, in the toppe wher of he found thē encamped with a great power to resist his passage. In steade of trēches they had impaled thē selfes wt their cariages crosse ye streightes purpo- Amphipolis. mount hemus.

purposyng ther to let his iourney. And if they shoulde be inuaded by any other waye then by the straygh-tes. they dyd determyne to roulle the Cariages downe the hyll vpon the Macedones. to breake the array of their battailes. whiche deuise in dede they put in execution. But the Souldiers had receyued before instruccions by Alexãder. that as occasiõ should serue. parte should open their arraye to lette the Cartes and Wheales passe through them. and that other should fall flat vpõ the grounde. and by coueryng their bodies with their Targattes auoyde the daunger. They vsed the matter accordyng to their instruccions. and when the Cartes were passed by. they with a courage and eye mounted vp agaynst their enemies. and in a moment put them to flyght: When Alexander was passed the Mountayne he entred into the Contrey of the Triballes as farre as the ryuer of Lygens. When Syrmus kyng of the Tryballs. Syrmus kynge of that lande vnderstode of his comyng he sent his wyfe and hys chyldren with suche of hys people as were not mete for the warres into an Iland called Peucé scytuate within the Riuer of Danubye. Peuce. Into whiche lande the Thracians that bordered with the Triballes were fledde also. It was not long after that Syrmus hym selfe fledde thither lykewyse. The rest of the Tryballes that were not with the kynge withdrewe into an other Iland. where they kepte them selfes agaynste Alexander. But he by polecye founde the meanes to drawe them out of theree strength. whereby he slewe of them the nombre of thre thousande. and the reste fledde awaye. for of prysoners there were fewe taken. After this battayles he marched towardes the Ryuer of Danubye. to that Iland where the Thracians and the other Tryballes were fledde. They made notable

resistans

resistans against him, which they might the better do, by reason that Alexander wanted boates, & the bankes of the Iland were so highe & steepe, that they could not be mounted vpon, but with great difficulty, the streame besides rounyng wer tue lously swifte, because that the Iland made yt narowe. when Alexander perceyued the impossibility to assaile them, he withdrewe to another place, where gettyng a fewe boates passed the ryuer in the night to the nōber of .M. cccc. horsemen & 4000 fotemen, with which company he set vpon a people called Getes, that stode redye in batail on the further side of purpose to stoppe the Macedones their passage, wt 4000 horsemen & .x.M. fotemē. By which sodeyne comyng ouer, the Getes beig afraid did not abyde the furste onset. it seamed to the a matter of wonderful aduenture, for Alexander in one nyght without a bridge, to passe his power ouer the brodest and depest ryuer of al Europe. this matter stroke such fear in thē that they fledde into the woddes and deserte places, leauing their cytie desolate which was taken by Alexander and ouerthrone. Sytmus kyng of the Tribalies, the Germains, and the other Inhabiters of Danubie, sent Embassadours thether vnto Alexander to enter with him in frendshyppe, and amitie. And he condiscending to their requestes, enquired of the Germaines what thing it was in the world that they doubted most, thinkinge in deade that the terrour of his name had bene the most feareful thing vnto thē. But when they vnderstode his meanynge they aunswered: that they doubted greatly the falling of the skye with whose presumptious aūswer Alexander was nothing moued, nor further replied, sauing only that he said, the Germains were alwaies a proud people, and thereupon dismissed thē. As he was going frō thence against ỳ Agrians & Getes. Danuby. Agriane.

Agryans. Citye Bardeleius Glaucias Kynge of Thalãts Lagarus.

Anterians.

Cona.

The Greks rebellyd.

The siege of Thebes

ÿ Peãs. he was aduertised that Clitus Bardeleius had rebelled. and was confederate with Glaucias ÿ kynge of the Thaulantes. he had also intelligẽce. that ÿ people of Anteria wold giue him batayle in his passage wherefore he cõmytted to Lagarus the Kynge of Agryans (wich was welbeloued of King Philip. & no les fauored of Alexander) ÿ charge to go againste ÿ Anterians. and promysed him vpon his retorne to giue him his suster Cyna in mariage. And Alexãder him self wt great celeritie wẽt against Clytus & Glaucias. whõ in sondrey batayles he ouercame. & put to flight. Whiles Alexander was about thes thinges. he receiued aduertisemẽt. ÿ diuers Cities in Greace & spectally the Thebans had rebelled which thinge moued him muche. & was ÿ cause that he retorned wt spede to oppresse ÿ cõmocion. The Thebanes in this meane season besieged ÿ Castle of Thebes. wher in was a guarnison of Macedones. and wẽt about by al meanes to win it. To whose rescue Alexander came by greate iourneys. & encamped wt his host nere to ÿ Citie. Such as bare rule amõges ÿ Thebanes. whẽ thei sawe Alexãder cõe. contrary to ÿ they loked for. & doubted whether such ayde shuld cõe to thẽ frõ other Cities. as was promysed. began to consulte how to procede. At lẽgth by a general consent they determyned to abide thaduenture of ÿ warre. The king in ÿ meane seasõ stode at a staye. geuyng thẽ space to be better aduised. & chaũge purpose for he was of opiniõ. that not one Citye wold euer haue made resistance. a gainst so great a power as he had. beinge aboue .xxx. thousand. fotmen. and thre thousand horsemen. al olde Souldyers. and experte in the trauesles of warre. The truste of whose manhode and valyantenes had caused hym to vndertake the warres agaynst the Persians. Trulye yf the Thebans had gyuen place too

Fortune.

fortune, & to ꝑ tyme and wold haue required peace they
mighte easelie haue obtained it his desire was so greate
to passe into Asia against ꝑ Persians, but ꝑ Thebans ꝑ
were determined to trye their force and dise no maiers,
fought agaynst ꝑ Macedões that far exceded their nõ-
bre obstynatly & with greate manhode. But whiles the
batailes were ioyning the guarrison of the castle issued
out vpon the Thebanes backe, wherby being enclosed
they were vanquyshed, their Cytie taken, spoiled, and
vtterly rased, which thynge Alexander did of purpose The distruc-
cion of The-
bes
be cause he thought ꝑ reste ꝑ Grecians afraied by their
ẽsample, wold be ꝑ more quiet whiles he shoulde be in
the warres of Asia, to gratifie the Phocians and Pla-
teans that were confederat with hym, through the ma-
nifold accusations that they brought in agaynste the
Thebanes, he slewe of them sixe thousande, and solde
thirte thousand as Slaues the money wherof coming
amoũted to the som of foure hũdred and forty talentes
yet he spared al the linage of Pindarus ꝑ Poete, wher- Pindarus
the Poet.
bye he wouldе wytnes vnto the worlde, the fauour he
did beare vnto learned men. In this Citie of Thebes
was a notable woman called Timoclea, whome when Tymoclea.
A capteyne of Thrace did rauishe, & wold haue enfor-
ced her to confes her monye, she brought him to a well
where she saide all her pretious gere was hydden. And
whiles he stouped downe to loke into the wel, she thrust
him in, and threwe stones after, wherby he was slaine
For this facte she being comitted to prysone and after-
wardes brought before Alexander: he asked her what
she was, she aũswered vñ out feare, ꝑ she was Suster
to Theogenes whych beinḍ elected generall Captayne
against kig Philip his father, mãfully died for ꝑ libertie
of Greece. At wose stowtnes & cõstãcy ꝑ king merueled
somuch ꝑ he caused her & her childrẽ to be set at libertie

The Athenians had so greate pitie and compassion of the estate of the Thebanes, that contrarye to the commaundement of Alexander, they receyued into theyr Cittie such of them as escaped. Whiche thing Alexander toke in such displeasure, that when thei sente Embassadours the second tyme to demaunde peace, he would not graunte atonement vpon any other condicion, but that such Oratours & Captaines which had stirred thē to rebelliō, shuld be deliuered vnto his handes. But at length the matter was wrought to that poynct that the Oratours were reserued, & the Captaynes banished, which straight fled to Darius kyng of Persia. At such tyme as Alexāder assembled the Greciās in Isthmos for the determinaciō of his iourney into Persia, many Oratours & Philosophers came to visite him, only Diogenes that remayned about Corinthe kept hym selfe away, as one that estemed Alexander nothyng at all: wherat he marueiled much, & wēt to visit him, wher he was beking of him selfe in the sō. He asked Diogenes if he had nede of any thige ẏ he might do. To whō Diogenes nether gaue reuerēce nor thāks, but willed hym to stād out of his son shine. With whose behauour and wordes Alexāder was so delited, that turning to those that were with hym said: if he were not Alexander, he would wyll to be Diogenes. Whē he had put in ordre thaffaires of Grece, comitting the rule therof togither with the Realme of Macedō to the gouernemēt of Antipater, whō he most trusted, in ẏ begining of ẏ spring came to Hellespont wᵗ his hole Armye, which he transported into Asia with incredible spede & diligēs. Whē they were come to the furder shore, Alexāder threwe a darte to the ennemies land, and as he was armed lepyd out of the ship wyth great cheresulnes, and their sacrified, making peticiō vnto the gods that they wold vouchsafe

Diogenes.

Antipater.

Hellespont

towardes his enemies. and forbad his Souldiers to make eny spoyle vpon the contrey. persuadinge thē to spare that was ther owne. and that thei shuld not destroyt þ thinge which they came to possesse. He not had in his Army aboue the nombre of .xxxii. M. fotemen & v. M. horsemen and but .Cxxx. ships. wherfore yt is harde to iudge whither yt be more. wonderful. that he conquered the worde. or that he durst attempte þ conqueste therof. wyth so small a powre. he chase not out to suche a dangerus enterpryse the ponge men whych were in þ flowre of there age. but thold souldiers of whom the more parte for there longe continuans in warres. were by the custome at liberty. whither they wold go to the warres any more or no. sauing at there owne pleasure. And there was none of the captaynes nor of ani other that bare office in the Army that was vnder the age of .lx. yeares. So that the souldiers for their experiēce semed to be Scolemaistres of þ warres. And the captayns for there grauitie apered to be Senators in some auncient comon welth. That was the couse that in the fighte none of thē minded any flieng but euerie one conceyued the victorie in his hedde. nor any put trust in his fete. but in his handes. Alexander that euery where made sacrifice. did vse moste solempnitie at Troye vpō Achilles Tombe. of whom he was discended by his mothers side. He iudged hym moste happye of all men that had bene before. because in suche glory he died ponge and had hys actes set forthe of such one as Homer was. From thence he passed forewardes into the domynions of Darius kynge of Perce. which beinge the sonne of Arsanus. and the fourtene kyng after Cirus. had gotten the possession of the Monarchie of the hole easte parte of the worlde. The chiefe cause that moued Alexander too

The nombet of Alexander Armye.

Achylles.

Homer.

Darius kyng of Perce.

ſtuade hi was to be rueged of ꝑ damgs & diſcureōs. wher with his predeceſſours had afflicted ꝑ contrei of Greace & alſo for demāding tribut of Philip his father for ꝑ wiche he ſent a proude & preſumptious ambaſſad called hi ſelf ꝑ king of kiges & kiuſmā of ꝑ gods. laſtly he had written to Alexander & called him his ſeruant. & gaue commiſſion to his lieutenants ꝑ thei ſhuld beat ꝑ mad boy ꝑ ſonne of Philip wt roddes & afterwards bring him to his preſēce in kings aparaile And laſtely ꝑ they ſhuld drowne both ſhip & mariners & conuey al ꝑ Souldirs ꝑ ſhuld be lefte on liue. beyond ꝑ rede ſeas theytherfore purpoſig to execute ꝑ kings cōmādemēt.

Troye Proponty des.

aſſembled they power at ꝑ riuer of Grāik (which doth deuid ꝑ cōtrei of Troie from propōtidis) thei had to ꝑ nombre of .xx.M. fotmen & aſmany horſemē. wt whō thei had take ꝑ grouūd on ꝑ further ſid of ꝑ ryuer. wher Alexāder muſt nedes paſſe ouer. wherof he being aduertiſid though he ſawe but plēt pil in thē terprīſe to fight in ꝑ water & ꝑ ouſe fro ꝑ lower grouūd. agaynſt his enemyes which had thaduantage of ꝑ higher bank. yet vpon a ſinguler truſte of hys owne good fortune. and the valiantnes of his ſoulders. attempted the matter. At the fyrſt he was ſore reſiſted. & put in great haſard of repulſe. but at length he vanquiſhed and ouerthrewe his enemies. In doing whereof there neither wanted polycie in him ſelf. nor yet ſingler manhode in his men. Ther was ſlayne in that battell of the perſians .xx.M. fotemen with .cc.l. horſmen. And of ꝑ Macedones but .xxviii. Thys victorie was greatlye effectuall to Alexanders purpoſe. for therby he wan the Cytie of Sardes. beinge the cheyfe ſtrength the perſians had for the maiſtering of the ſeas. vnto the whyche Cytye and to all the reſte of the contreye of

The battel vppn the Ryuer of Graycik.

Sardes.

Lydia. Epheſos.

Lidia

lydia he gaue libertye to liue vnder their owne lawes
He got also into his possessyon the Cytye of Epheses
by reason that the fourthe daye after the battell it was
abandoned of ỳ guarison which Darius set ther. In Magnesia.
the meane season ther cam Imballedoues fro Mag-
gnesia & fro ỳ Tralliās proffering ỳ delyuery of their Xeliton.
Cities. Parmenio was sent to the with .iii. thousand
fotemen & .cc. horsemen. wyth whych power he wan delicarussus.
Miletum ỳ stod at defyce. & marching fro thes towers
helycarnassus got al the townes therabouts at ỳ first Ada the
approche & afterwardes besieged helicarnassus yt self Quene of
which with great trauaile he wan at length, & raised to Carya.
the ground. As Alexander entered into Caria. Ada Orontochis
the Quẽe of that Countrey, which had bene spoiled of
al hir Domynion by Orontobates Darius lieutenant Alynda.
(sauinge of one strong Cytye called Alinda) mette wt
Alexander. and adopted hym for hir sonne and heire.
He wold not refuse ỳ name & the proffer of hir libera-
litie. but dyd betake to hyr againe. the custody of hyr
owne Cittie. And besides for ỳ memory of hyr benevo-
lens. put the hole Contrey of Caria vnder hyr rule Licia.
and subiection. From thence he wente into Lycia
and Pamphilia to thentent that by gettyng the posse-
ssion of the sea costes of those contries. shulde cause Pamphilia
the sea powre of Darius to stand to none effecte. whẽ Pisydia.
he had ones subdued the people of Pisydia. he entred Phrigia.
into Phrigia by the which contrey he was enforced to
passe. and marched towards Darius. with whom he
had great desire to encounter. hearynge saye
that he was comming against him with
many thousand
of men of
warre.

Alexander in the meane season hauing sete Geader to wage mē of warre out of Peleponese. & eſtabliſhed the contrets of Lycia and Pamphilia. remoued his Armye to the Cirye of Celenas. throughe thys Cirye they rane the same tyme the Ryuer of Marcia verie famous in the greake poetis whose hed springing out of the tope of an highe mountayne. and fallyng downe vpon a rocke beneth. made muche noise & rorynge. It floweth from thence. and watreth the feldes all about wythout encreaſe of any streame sauing hys owne. The colloze wherof being like vnto the calmee se. gaue occasion to the poetes to fayne howe the Nymphes for the delight they toke in ỳ Ryuer. choſſe their dwellyng vnder that roke. So longe as it ronnethe within compaſſe of the walles yt keapeth his owne name. but whē it cometh without. where ỳ streme is more swyfte & vehemente. is then called Lycum. Alexander dyd enter into thys towne being forſaken of the Inhabitaunts. and perceyuing they were fled into the caſtle whyeh he determined to winne before he departed ſet. frill to sommō them by an Herauide whyeh declared that except they wold yelde them selues. they ſhould ſuffre the extremytie of the law of Armys. They brought the herauld into an highe towre which was strong both by nature and worksmāſhip. willing him to cōſider the thing. & to declare vnto Alexander ỳ he wayed not ſufficiently ỳ strengthe of the place. for thei ſaid they knewe it to be impzingable. & if ỳ worſt ſhuld falle. yet were thei redy to dye in there truth & allegeance. Notwth ſtandinge which wordes. whē it came to ỳ pointe. ỳ thei ſawe the ſelues beſieged. & al thinges wax ſcarſe. They toke truſe for lx dayes. vpō thys compoſition. ỳ if they were

Seander.

Celenas.

Marcia.

Lycum.

not releued by Darius within ỳ time. they wold rẽdre it vp into his hãds. which thei did afterwards at ỳ dai apointed. whẽ thei saw no succors coming. To ỳ place there ceme Embassadors to hym frõ Athens making request. that such of there Citie as were takẽ prisoners at ỳ battel fought vppon the riuer of Granyke myght be restored to thẽ. To whom aunswer was made. that whẽ ỳ warres of percie werẽ brõghtto an end both thers & al other ỳ wer greeks shuld be restored to their libertie. Alexander had his present care & Imagenacõ alwaies vpõ Darius. whõ he knew not yetto be passed the ryuer of Euphrates. He assembled therfore all hys powre togethers purposing to aduenture the hasard of the batasle. The cõtrey was called Phrigia ỳ he passed thorugh plentyful of villages but scarse of Cyties. yet Cytye of Gordyu. their was one therin of great Antiquitie called Gordin the roiall seat sometyme of kynge Mydas The riuer Sangarius doth ronne throught yt. and it standeth in midewaye tetwẽe the Seas of Ponte & Cilicia. being iudged to be the narowest parte of Asia by reasõ of the Sees which lye on both sides representing ỳ forme of an Iãd. And if it were not for a smale point of land. ỳ do lie betwext those ses. thei shuld win both togithers. Alexander hauing brought this Citye vnder his boeysans. entered into the temple of Jubyter. where he saw the wagon wherin Mydas the builder of ỳ Citie was wonte to ride. The same in the furniture & outwarde appearance differred lyttle frõ other common wagõs. Gordies knotte. but there was in yt a thing notable: which was a rope folded & knit with many knots. one so wrethed within an other. that no man could perceyue the maner of yt nether where the knotes began. nor wher thei ended Upon theys the Contremen had a prophesie ỳ he shuld be lord of all Asia that could vndo that endles knot which matter put the kinge in a meruelus desire to be

come the fulfiller of that prophesie. Ther stod a great nombre about him bothe of Phrigians & Macedons thone parte of thē musing to what cōclusiō this matter wold come to, and the other feacing the rashe presumpcō of the kyng. For asmuch as they could perceyue bi no reasō how ỳ knot shuld be vndōe. The kynge him self also doughting ỳ the failing of his purpose in ỳ matter, might be take as a tokē of his euel fortune to come. Wherfore after he had cōsidred the thing: What matter maketh it (qd he) which way it be vndone. and striued no lenger how to vnknit it, but out of hand cut vp his sword the cordes a sondre: therbi eyther eluding or els fulfilling the effecte of the prophecye. When this was dōe Alexāder purposed to find out Darius wher so euer he wer. And to the intēt he wold leue al thinges cleare behind his back, made Amphitorus captayne of his naue vpon the coste of Hellespont, comettyng ỳ charge of ỳ mē of warre to Egilocus. Thei two haue commissiō to deliuer ỳ Ilāds of Lesbos, Scyo. & Coos from ỳ handes of ỳ Persians. And for ỳ furniture of their charges apointed to thē .l. talēts. And sent to Antipater & such as had ỳ gouernans of ỳ Cities of Greae therfore talēts. He gaue order ỳ suchas wer his cōfederats shuld with ther own powre of ships deked ỳ seas of Hellespōt according to ỳ leage betwixt thē. It was not yet come to his knowledg how Menō was deade vpō whō he set his hole regard, knowing it ỳ he moued not ageinst hi, noma shuld enterrupt his passage before he camto Darius. Alexander came to the cytye Ancyre where he made hys musteres, and so entred into Paphlagomya wherunto the Grecians be borderers, of whome (it is said) the venecians be discended. Al this Contrey yealdid vnto him, gaue him pledges obteining to be free of tribute, seing they neuer paid any to the persians. Calas was captayne there, who taking vp hym

Amphitorus.

Egilocus.

Lesbos. Scyo. Coos.

Menon.

The Cytye of Ancire.

Rhaphlagomya.

him the band of Souldiers ꝑ were lately come out of Macedon went vnto Capadocea. But Darius hearing of the deathe of Memon. was noles moued therwyth then the cale required, for then allother hope set apert he determyned to trye the matter in person. cõdempnyng all thynges ꝑ had ben don by hys deputies. hauing opinion that good gouerment wanted in many of them. and that fortune had fayled in them all. He came therefore to Babylon. wher he encamped. Assembling al his force togithers in sight bicause he wold shewe the greater courage. And vsing the ensample of Xerxes in takig of his musters entrenched so much ground abut as was able to receiue .x. thousand men. within the whych he lodged in the night suche as had bene mustred in the daye. And from thens they were bestowed abrode in ꝑ plaine contrey of Mesepotanya. the numbre of his horsmen & fotemẽ were innumerable. and yet seamed to the syght to be more then they were. There were of the Persyans an. C. thousand of whom. xxx. thousand were horsemen. Of the Medeans .x. thousand horsemẽ & .xxx. thousand fotemen. Of the Barcanyts two thousand horsemen. with brode swordes & light bucklers. and .x. M. fotmẽ vñ like weapõs. Ther were of ꝑ Armẽians .xl. thousand fotemen & .vii. thousand horsemen The hircanyans of great estymaciõ emongeste those naciõs had .vi. thousand horsemẽ. The derbicens were .xl. thousand fotemẽ armed vñ pikes. wherof parte had no hedes of Irõ. but dried ꝑ points of thẽ in ꝑ fiere therwer also of the same naciõ .ii. M. horsmẽ. Ther cãe frõ ꝑ Caspiã sea viii. M. fotmẽ & .ce. horsmẽ. And with thẽ of ꝑ rude nacions of Asia .ii. M. fotemen and .iiii. M. horsemen. To the increase al thes numbres there were .xxx. M Mercenary sauldiers ꝑ were Greaks. Hast wold not suffer to eal for thy: Bactriãs, Sogdians. Indians. vñ

Calas.

Capadocia

Themmybie of Darius men of warre.

other thinhabiters of ꝑ red sea.naciõs which had nães scarsely knowen to ther owne kynge. Thus Darius wanting nothing lesse thẽ ꝑ multitud of mẽ greatly reioysed to behold them. And puffed vp ẏ the vanitye & flattery of ꝑ greate men ꝑ were aboute hym. turned to Charidemus of Athẽs an experte mã of warre (which for ꝑ displeasure ꝑ Alexãder did bere him was bãished his cõtrey) & asked him if he thought not this cõpany sufficient to ouerthrowe ꝑ Macedons. Wherũto Charidemus without respytte of the kinges pride. or of hys owne estate aunswered. Peraduenture sir (qd he) ye will not be content to heare ꝑ truth & excepte I tell yt nowe.it shalbe to late hereafter. This great prꝑaracõ & hughe army of yours. gathered of ꝑ multitud of so many naciõs ꝑ you haue raised vp frõ al ptes of Thorient is more fearfull to theinhabituts hereabouts. then terrible to your enemies. your mẽ shine in colors and glister in armure of gold. exceding so much in ryches. ꝑ they which haue not sene thẽ ẏ ther eies cãnot cõceiue any such thig in their minds. But cõtrariwise the Macedões being rough souldiers. wout any such excesse be terrible to behold ꝑ frõts of ther battailes stãd close togethers alwais in strẽgth furnished vẏ pikes & targets for defẽce. ẏ which thei call ther Phallanx is an immouable square of fotemen. wherin euery one stãd close to other ioyning weapõ to weapon. euery souldier obediẽt to ẏ which is commaũded him redy at his captaines beck whyther it be to folowe his enseigne. to kepe hys armye. to stand stil. to rũne. to fetche a cõpas. to chang thorder of the battell. to fight on this side or that side: euery souldier can do thes thinges as wel as the captaines. And because you shal not thinke gold & siluer to be effectuall to thys matter. they began and obserued this discipline pouerty beig Maystres. Wher they be were ẏ ground is there bed. they are satisfied

Charidemus words vnto Darius

The Phalanx of the Macedeons

fied with suche meate as thei kind by chaunce. and thei measure not their sleape by the lengthe of the myght. Thinke you the horsmen of Thessaly the Acharnans. and Etolians whych be inuincible men of warre. wolde repulsed with flynges or staues hardned in the fire. It behoueth you to haue a like force to repulse thē. and to be serued of the same kind of men. Mi counsel is therfore that you sēd this gold and siluer to wage souldiers out of those countreis from whence thei come. Darius was a man of a meke and tractable dysposition. if the heighte of his estate had not altered the goodnes of hys nature: which made hym so vnpacyent to here the truthe. that he commaunded Charydemus to bee put streight wayes to death: being a man that was fled to his protection. and that gaue hym right profitable counsel. when he was going towards his death he left not his libertye to speake. but sayde: there is one at hande that shal reuenge my deathe. For he against whome I haue geuen the counsell. shall punyshe the for not folowinge of the same. And thou being thus altered with the libertye thou haste being a king. shalt be an ensample to suche as shal come after that when they commit their doinges to fortune they clerely forget thē selues. whiles Charidemus was speaking these wordes. they which had the charge committed vnto them put him to death. whereof afterwardes the kynge toke ouer late repētance. for he confessed that he had spokē the truth. & caused him to be buried. Ther was one Thymones the sōne of Menter a yōg mā of great actiuite. to whō Darius gaue the charge of al the souldiers straungers. in whom he had great cōfidence and willed hym to receyue thē at Pharnabasus handes. And gaue to Pharnabasus ꝑ rule ꝑ Menō had before. Thus Darius beig careful of the busines he had in hand. whither it were Thymones

through

throughe penfiuenes of mynde or ẏ his fancie did deuine thinges to cõe was cõtinually troubled wᵗ vilios in his sleape. He dreamed ẏ ẏ Macedõs cãpe was al on fire. And shortly after yt semed to hym that Alexander was brought to his presẽce in such kid of apparel as he him selfe did were, when he was first chosen kyng and that Alexander should ther be caried on horsebacke through Babilõ. and so to vanishe out of sight. Hereupon thinterpretors of dreames with the diuersitie of theyr deuininge, did driue Darius into diuers ymaginations. Some said his dreame betokened good fortune to him selfe bicause of ẏ fire that semed to be in his enemyes campe & for that Alexander wyth out any vesture of a kyng aperid in the vulgare apariel of ẏ Parcians. Other did enterprete it otherwise: that the lightenig in ẏ Macedons campe signified glory & victorie to Alexander. & also thenioyment of ẏ empire of Asia. which they made a clere matter for as muche as Alexander sapered in the same vestures that Darius ware when he was chosen kyng. Care besydes and trouble of mynd (as it often chaunseth) brought thinges by paste again to remembrance. It was rehersed howe Darius in ẏ beginning of his raigne chaũged ẏ scabard of hys sword from the Persian manner into the fashion that the Grekes vsed. Whereupon ẏ Caldees did prenostical ẏ the kyngdome of Perce shuld be translated to those, whose fashion he had counterfaited. Notwithstãding through the confidence of such prophecies as were commonly sene abrode, and of of the vision, that he seamed to haue sene in his sleape became very mery, and commaunded his Army to marche forwards to thertuer of Euphrates. It was the auncient custome amongeste the Percias, at the sonne rising to raise their campe and warnyng of their setting forwardes to be geuen

Darius dreame.

by

by the blaste of a Trompet sowned at the kynges pauil-
lion vpō the which there stode an Image of the sonne
enclosed in christall shininge so bright, that it might be
seue throught out ỹ campe. The order of their marche
was in this maner. The fire which thei cal holie and e-
ternall was caried before vpon siluer aultars, and the
prieste of their lawe went next synginge after they
contrey maner. There folowed .ccc. lxb. yong men in
scarlet robes like in nombre vnto ỹ daies of the yeare.
Then came the chariots that was cōsecrate to Jupiter
drawen with whyte palfreis, a great horse folowinge
which thei cal ỹ horse of ỹ sonne. Such as did ride vp-
on the palfreys dyd weare white garmentes, and had
roddes of gold in theyr handes. next in order came ten
chariots garnished and wrought with siluer and gold.
The horsemen of twelue nacions folowed next in
sondry sorte of Armoure. Thē came a cōpany that the
Persians call immortall the ryches of whole appareil.
exceded farre ỹ reste thei had al cheines of gold, coates
embrodered with gold, and sleues set with Perle. there
folowed with in a smale distans a band of xb. thousand
called Doryphere reputed for the king kinsmen. which
were disguised in maner like women, more notable for
their gallentnes and varietie of apariel thē for the ar-
mour they did weare. Such as were wont to receyue
the kynges robes at his hādes did ryde next before the
chariot vpō ỹ which Darius did sit on high with great
pompe and magnificens his chariot was set on bothe
sides with carued Images of their gods both of siluer
and gold, & al the former parte was adorned with per-
les and precious stones hauing two Images of golde
their standynge of a cubyte lengthe combattant on
against the other and ouer their heades an Egle of gold
displayed. But amongeste all the reste the kynges ap-

The order of the persians in their marchinge.

pariell

parell shewed maruelous sumptuouse, whych was of purple empaled whit. with a bo:der embo:ssed of gold faucons fighting togithers. He was gird eff empynately with a gerdle of golde. and the swo:d that hung theru=on had the scabard made of a perle. The diadeame the kyng were vpon his head called by the Perrpans Cy=darys had a roule about yt of white and grene. Next behind the kyng came .x. thousande. ho:semen. which had all their speares plated with siluer & their speares heades gilded. He was enclosed on both sides with .cc of ỹ bloud royal. at whose backes there folowed .xxx. M fotemen. and after them .cccc. of the kynges courtiers: wythin the distance of one furlonge Sisigambis the mother of Darius was caried in a Wagone and hys wief in an other. ỹ trayne of their women ridinge on ho:seback. Next them wẽt .xv. wagons. wherin the kin=ges children were caried. their nurces and Enuches. which are greatly estemed in ỹ nacion. And after them folowed .ccc. .lx. of the kinges concubines al apparel=led like Quenes. Then came .vi.c. mules and .ccc. Ca=mels that caried the kynges treasure whych were gar=ded with a band of Archers. the wiues of the kinges kinsmen and the other that were about the kyng came ridinge next. & after them a great companye of slaues and berlets. Last came their reward. lightly armed. of whom euery captaine seueraly with his own company closed in ỹ army. Such was ỹ o:der of Darius host on the other side beholding Alexanders Armye. there was to be sene a great differẽce. nether the men no:r the ho:se were set fo:the with such gold no:r precious fur=nymentes glistering only with the brightnes of their harnes. but they were obedient at their captaines bede. alwaies in redines to stay o:r to passe fo:wardes. nether con.b:ed with ouer greate multitude. no:r pestered with

Sisigambis darius mo=ther.

Alexanders Armye.

to

to muche bagage. Thei wanted not in any place either groud for their encāping or victualles for their feding wherby theire ſmalle nombre was alwayes ſufficient when they came to fyght. Where as Darius the lorde of ſo huge a multitude, through the ſtreightnes of the ground wherein he was driuen to geue battaille could worke theffect but of a ſmall nombre, whiche he before had diſpiſed in his enemy. Alexander appointed Abiſtamines the iuſe of Capadocia, and marching with his army towardes Calicia came to the place that was called Cyrus Campe, becauſe he lodged there when he paſſed into Licia againſt kyng Creaſus. This place was diſtant aboutes. 50. forlonges from the ſtreight, wherby he muſt entre Cilicia. The enhabyters vſe to cal thoſe ſtreightes Pyloe, where as the natural ſcituacion of the place had made a fortification as it were made with mans handes. When Arſanes gouernour of Cilicia vnderſtode of Alexanders comyng, remembryng what opinion Menon was of in the begynnyng of the warres, put in execuciō his wiſe coūſell, thought it were ouer late, waſtyng and deſtroyeng through out Cilicia, all ſuche thinges as he thought might ſtande his enemy in ſtede, leuyng the countrey waſte, whiche he thought he was not able to defend: where as it had bene muche better to haue preuented his enemy in the ſtreightes, where from the hilles lyeng ouer the way he might without hazard either haue letted his entrey, or els haue diſtreſſed hym in his paſſing. But he leuieng a ſmall nombre for the defence of the ſtreyght, retired him ſelfe back to waſte the countrey, whiche his parte had bene to defend from deſtructiō. Of his departure it came to paſſe that thoſe whiche he left behynd, thynkyng them ſelues betrayed, would not ſo muche as a- Arſanes.

byde the syght of their enemies. when a muche lesse nũ-
bre had bene sufficient to haue kept the passage. For the
Theodesture cion o. Cili-cia. situaciõ of Cilicia is suche that it is enuironed round
about with a continuall rough and steape Mountayne
whiche ryseth from the sea on the one syde. & fetchyng
a compasse aboute. ioyneth againe with the sea. on the
other syde. Through that parte of this Mountayne
whiche lieth furdest from the Sea. beyng thre narowe
and rough passages. by one of the whiche they must en-
tre that will passe into Cilicia. This coũtrey towardes
the Sea is playne and full of Riuers. amonges which
Pyramus. Cydnus. two be notable Pyramus and Cydnus. but Cydnus
moste speciall. not so muche for his greatnes. as for the
clerenes of his water. whiche from his firste spryng
renneth pleasantly through all the Countrey. and hath
no other Ryuer runnyng into hym to disturbe the pu-
renes of his streame. For whiche cause it remayneth
alwaies clere. and also coold by reason of the woodes
that do shadowe all the banckes. Tyme hath consu-
med many antiquities within that countrey. whiche be
remembred of the Poetes. There maie yet be sene the
Lyrnessus. Cebelsus. Coucius. foundacions of the Cities of Lyrnessus. and Cebelsus
with the caue and woode of Coucius where saffron
groweth with many other thynges whereof nothyng
remayneth sauyng only the fame. When Alexander
entred the straytes that before be mencioned. and be-
held the scituacion of them. he neuer in all his life mar-
ueiled more of his owne felicitie and good fortune.
confessyng that it had not bene possible for hym to
haue passed. if any had stand at defence agaynst hym.
for that with stones only he myght haue bene destres-
sed. and the strayte besydes was so narrowe. that there
could not passe aboue foure in a front. To thencrease

of

of whiche difficulty the toppes of the Mountaynes hong ouer the ways, whiche in many places were broken and made hollowe with the streames that ranne downe from the hilles. Alexander sent the Thracians that were lyght armed to scower & discouer the ways, for feare the enemies should lye there in bushement, and sodeynly breake forth vpon hym: He appoynted also a bād of Archers to take the toppe of the hyl, which were willed so to marche, that they myght be alwayes in a redines to fyghte. After this maner he came with his army to the Cytie of Tarson, whiche was set on fyre by the Persions, because that Alexander should fynde no herborow there. But Parmeno was sent thether with a choyse nombet of horsemen to quenche the fyer, who vnderstandyng that the enemies were fled away through his commyng, entred into the Cytie and by that meanes saued it from burnyng. The Ryuer of Cydnus spoken of before, dyd ronne through this Cytie, where the kyng arryued about myddaye, it beynge in the Sommer season, what tyme the heate is no where more feruent then in that countrey. He toke suche delyght in the pleasauntnes of the water, that he would nedes bathe his body, to washe awaye the sweate & dust he had caught: and being in an heate entred naked into the water in euery mans syght, thynckyng it should be a contentacion to his souldiers to se that the furnemētes about his body was no other but suche as they cōmonly vsed to weare. He was not so sone entred but all the partes of his body began to shake & tremble, his face waxed pale, & the liuely heate was mortified in all partes of his body: His seruauntes toke hym vp and caried hym into his tent, as one beside him self, and at the poinct of death. Then there

Tarson.

Alexander by bathing in a Ryuer became in great perill of his life.

was a greate desolacion and heuines in the campe. they wepte. lamented. and bewayled. that suche a kyng. so noble a Capitaine as had not bene sene in any age. should thus be taken from them in the chiefe of his enterprise and bruute of all his busines. and that after suche a manner. not in battaile slayne by his enemies. but thus cast away bathing in a ryuer. It greued them that Darius now beyng at hand should obtein the victory by suche a chaunce. without seing of his enemy. & that they should be enforced to retourne back agayne as men vanquysshed by those Countreis. through the whiche they had passed before as victorers. In whiche countreis all thynges beyng destroyed by themselues or by their enemies. it was of necessitie for them to dye for hunger. though no man should persue them. It became a question amonges them selues who should be their Capitayne in their flyeng away: for what he were that durste succede Alexander. And though they might saufely arriue at ỹ Sea of Hellespont. yet who should prepare them passage there. And when they had disputed these questions. their argument by and by was turned in compassion towardes their Prince. lamentyng as mẽ out of their wittes. that suche a floure of yought suche a force of courage as was in hym. that the same their kyng and companion in armes should after this sorte be taken from them. In the meane season Alexãder began to drawe his breath somwhat better. & when he came vnto himselfe. he lifted vp his eyes and began to knowe his frendes that were about hym. the vehemens of his sicknes somwhat assuaging. whiche was perceiued in that he began to vnderstand the perill he was in. But the pensiuenes of his mynde was greate hinderaunce vnto his health. for tidinges came that

Darius

Darius within fiue dayes would be in Cilicia, whiche was the thing that made him to sorowe and lamēt. He could not take it but greuously, that suche a victory should be plucked out of his handes through his infirmitie. And that he should be taken as one tied in bondes, and be put to some shamefull and vile death. He called therfore to hym both his frendes and Phisicions, and sayd vnto them: ye see in what state of my bulines fortune hath taken me. Me thyncke the noyse of myne enemies do ringe in mine eares, and I whiche moued first the warre, am now chalenged and prouoked to fyght. When Darius did wryte to me suche proude letters, he was not ignorant of myne estate. yet peraduenture he shalbe deceyued if I may vse myne owne mynde in recouery of myne owne health. My case requireth no slacke medicines, nor slowe Phisicions. I had rather dye sloutly at ones, then to consume long tyme in my recouery. Wherfore if there be any hope or connyng in physicke let it be shewed. And thincke that I seke not remedy so muche for mine own life as I do for the care I haue to enconntre with myne enemies. When they harde him speake those wordes, they were in great doubte of his sodein rashnes. & therfore euery one required him apart, that he would not encrease his perill through any haste, but suffre himself to be ordred by thaduise of his Phisicions. For thei alledged that vnproued remedies were not suspected of them without cause, seing his enemy had gone about to corrupt suche as were about him, by promising a. M. talentes to his killer. Which cause alleged, they thought no mā would be so bold to make any experiment of physicke vpō him. which for the want of triall therof, myght in any wyse geue cause of suspection. There was amongest the ex-

The wordes of Alexander to his frendes in his sickenes

Philip Alexanders physicion.

cellent physicions that came with Alexãder out of Macedon one Philip of Acarnon whiche was preferred to him for preseruacion of his health. and had faithfully serued him from his childhode and therfore loued him with entire affection. He promised to proude for the kynge an approued remedy. but suche one as would worke sore vpon him. by the drinkyng wherof he doubted not (he sayd) but to expulse the force of his disease: That promise pleased no mã. but only him which in the proufe therof should abide the perill: for he could abide all thinges better then delay. Darius and his power was alwayes in his eye. and he had assured confidence that ỹ victory should fall on his side. if he myght be able but to stand in the sight of his mẽ. The thing that only greued him. was that the Physicio would not minister vnto him before the third day. In the meane season Parmenio. whome of all his nobilitie he trusted most. had exhorted him by his letter. that he should not cõmit himself to the cure of Philip. for that he was corrupted by Darius with a thousand talentes. and the promis of his syster in mariage. Those letters brought the kyng in great care and doubt. and moued hym to way and ponder secretly with himself all those thinges. that fear or hope could put in his hedde. of thone syde or thother.

Alexanders Imaginacõ

Shall I aduenture (thought he) to drynke this medicine: what if it be poyson: shal I not then be accoũpted the cause of myne owne death: shall I suspecte the fidelitie of my Physicion: or shall I suffre myne enemy to kyll me in my bedde: yet were it better to perysshe by other mens treason, then thus to dye through myne owne faynt herte. His mynde beyng thus diuerisely wrought. he would shewe the contentes of the letter to no man. but sealed it with his owne ring. and layde it vnder

vnder neth his pillowe. Two dayes were passed on in these Imaginacions and the third daye the Phisicion came to his beddes syde with the medicine redy made. When the kyng sawe hym he rayred vp hymselfe vpon his elbowe, and takyng the letter in his lefte hande, with the other hande toke the cuppe, and streyght supped it of. When he had so done he delyuered the letter to Philip to reade, and whyles he was readyng he beheld hym continually in the face supposing that if he had bene faulty, some token would haue apeared in his countenaunce. When Philip had redde the letter he shewed more tokens of displesauntnes then of feare, and therewithall fell downe vpon his knees, and said: Sir I se my lyfe doth depende vpon your healthy. But your recouery shall declare that I am falsely charged with this treason: But when that by my meanes you shall get your health, I trust ye will not deny me then my lyfe. In the meane season laye feare aside, and suffre the medicine to worke, and to haue his operacion. Kepe your self quiet, and suffer not your self to be troubled with the superstitious carefulnes of your frendes, which though it proceedeth of good wil, is yet much impediment vnto your health. His wordes not only satisfied the kyng, but made him to conceiue perfite hope to be hole, and said vnto Philip: If the goddes would haue graūted ỳ to deuise a meane to proue ỳ cōfidēce I haue in the, & the good wil towardes the ỳ couldest not haue chosen any so good as this is: for notwithstāding ỳ lfe, I make of ỳ medicine beleuing ỳ to be no lesse carefull for declaracīō of thine own truth, thē for my heth. & therwith gaue him his hād: yet altered wardes whē the medicine begā to worke, it was seuth in operacīō ỳ it semed to vexe the Parmenios accusement: for he fauored oft

and had muche labour to drawe his breath. Then Philip left nothing vnproued or vndonne that might serue for his purpose. He laid warme clothes to his body and alwaies as he fainted reuiued him againe with the sauour of one thing & other. And when he perceiued him once to come to him self. he ceased not to fede him with talke and one while put him in remembraunce of his mother and his sisters and an other while of the great victory that was at hand. When the powre of medicine was once entred into his vaines. ther apeared streight in all partes of his body manifest tokens of healt. First quicknes came to the spirites. and after the body recouered his strength a great deale soner then any mā loked for he should. For the third day after he had bene in this case. he walked in ỹ sight of his souldiours. which wonderfully reioyced to see him. And they shewed no lesse affection vnto Philip. whom euery one seuerally embraced & gaue him thankes as vnto God. It cannot be expressed besides the naturall veneratiō the Macedons vse to beare vnto their prince. in what reuerence they especially had Alexander. and how feruently they loued him. They had conceiued of him an opinion that he could enterprise nothing but that it was furthered by God. & fortune was so fauorable vnto him that his rashenes was always encrease of his glory. His age beside scarcely ripe. and yet sufficient for so greate thynges. dyd marueylously set forth all his doynges. And thinges whiche out of the warres should be counted lightnes. are wōt to be moste acceptable to the souldiers. as the exercising of his body amonges thē. his apparell not differing from the cōmon sort. with his courage & forwardnes in the fielde: whiche giftes geuen him of nature. & thiges done of policy did get him both

Alexanders recouerynge.

loue

loue and reuerence of his people. When Darius harde of Alexanders sickues, he marched towardes the ryuer of Euphrates with all the haste he could make. In conueying of so cõbrouse an army, he made there a brydge and in .v. daies passed ouer his people, hauing great desire to get Cilicia before his enemy. By that time Alexander had recouered his strength, and was come to a Cytie called Solos, whiche the inhabitauntes yelded vnto him, and for two hundred talentes obtayned assurance. Notwithstãding he put a garison in the Castle, and there celebrated playes, and triumphes whiche he had vowed to Aesculapius, and Minerua for the recouery of his health: Where being geuẽ so quietly to his pastime, shewed howe litle he estemed the comming of his enemies. Whiles Alexãder was busied about these thinges, he receiued pleasaunt newes, how his men had wonne a battaille of the Persians at Halicarnassus, and that the Myndians, and Cawnians, with diuers other nacions in those partes were brought vnder his obediẽce. This triumphe ones ended he remoued, and by a brydge made ouer the ryuer of Piramus, he came to the Cytie of Malon: and from thence with an other remoue, came to a towne called Castabulon. There Parmenio returned to the kyng whiche had bene sent to searche the straite that lay betweene them and the Cytie of Isson. He had preuented the Persians at the passage, and so leuying men for the defence therof, toke the Citie of Isson that was lefte desolate: he departed from thence and did driue the Persiãs out of the mountaynes, & serched all the waies. So that hauing made all thinges clere for tharmy to passe, he returned again both the aucthour of the acte, & the reporter of the thing done. Alexander encamped within the Citie, & debated

Soles. Myndians. Cawnians. Malon. Castabulon. Isson.

there in counsail, whether it were better to passe on further, or els to tary there for a more power whiche was comming to him out of Macedon: Parmenio was of opinion that this place was moste meete to abide Dario in, and geue him battaille, where both thармies should be of like force by reason of ỹ straytes wherein no great multitude could fight at once: He shewed reasons why thei ought to eschue the plaines wherein their enemies sheud haue great auantage through their great nombre that might enclose thē about. Wherin (he said) he doubted not his enemies stoutnes, but only feared that their owne men might be ouercome with werenes, where a multitude should fight with a fewe, & freshe men succede in the place of them that fainted. This counsaill was receiued for good, and Alexander determined in ỹ place to abide his enemies. There was in the host of ỹ Macedons one Sylenes a persone sent before tyme from the gouernour of Egipt vnto kyng Philip: who being aduaunced with rewarde and promotiōs choyse to lyue out of his own countrey & so folowing Alexāder into Asia, was estemed among those that the kyng trusted well: A souldier of Create deliuered hym a letter from Mabazzanes Darius Lieutenaunt wherin he exhorted him to do some notable enterprise, whereby he might wynne fauour & reputaciō with Darius. Sylenes innocēt of this matter was about diuers times to present the letter to the king, but seing him occupied in weyghty affaires of prouision for the battaille, prolonged the matter. And whiles he wayted for a more conuenient time, he brought himself in suspiciō of treason. for the letter was brought to the kinges handes before it was deliuered vnto him: who readyng it, and seale ỹ same with a strong seale, and caused it to be deliuered

Parmenios opinion.

Sylenes.

to

to Cylenes to proue the by his fidelite but because he
counsealed the thyng many dayes and opened not the
matter to the kyng it semed that he consented there-
unto: And therefore by the kynges commaundement
he was put to death by the hand of the Cretensians. The
Greke souldiers whiche Tymodes had receyued of
Pharnabasus beyng those that Darius trusted moste,
were come vnto him. They perswaded muche Darius
to retire backe into the playnes of Mesopotania and if
he would not do so that at the leste he should deuide his
power, and not commyt the hole force of his estate to
one stroke of fortune. This counsaill was not so dis-
pleasaunt vnto the kyng, as it was to suche that were
about hym: for they sayd mercinary souldiours were
alwayes full of treason, and were to be doubted the
more for that they counsayled the Army to be deuided
whiche was for no other purpose but only that they
myght haue commoditie to flee vnto Alexander when
they should haue any charge committed vnto them.
There is nothyng therefore more sure for vs (quod
they) then to enclose them round about with our army
and to cut them in peces, to be an ensample to the
worlde that treason should neuer be vnrenenged.
But Darius whiche was of a meke and good dispo-
sicion, refused to commit so cruell an acte in sleyng
suche as had betaken themselues to his trust: for
if we should fyle oure handes (quod he) with their
bloude, what straunge nacion would euer then com-
mitte themselues into our handes? alledgyng that
there ought no man to lose his lyfe for geuyng foly the
counsayll. For who would be bolde to geue Coun-
sayll, yf in counsayllyng there should be any peryl?
For I call you (quod he) to counsaill daily and heare the

The greke ad-uise.

Darius cle-mency.

Darmes an-swere vnto his counsail

diuerse

diuersitie of your opinions. & yet mistruste not thē that geue me not always the best counsaill. He caused the Grekes to be answered. that he gaue them thākes for their good will. But in retourning backe (he saied) he should geue vp him his countrey into his enemies hādes. whiche were not conuenient. And considering ꝑ force ꝑ came is of in the warre in going backe he should appeare to flee. But to deferre the fight he thought it worste of al. seing so great an army as he had (the winter thē approching) could not be victailed in a desolate coūtrey. that had bene wasted both by them selues & by their ennemies. And for the deuiding of his power. he shewed that he could not do it. obseruing the customes of his predecessours. which were not wont to hasard ꝑ battaille. but vp their hole power. He declared ꝑ Alexāder before his cōming semed terrible to the worlde. and through his absence was brought in a vaine presumption. But after he sawe him come. became ware & wel aduised. hiding him in the straytes of the mountaines. like those coward beastes. that hearing the noyse of cōmers by. do hide them selues in the dēs of the woddes. He hath blynded his souldiers (qō he) with his counterfeit sicknes. but nowe I will not suffer him to prolōge the fyght any longer. whiche if he will refuse. I will oppresse hym in his lurkyng hole. These wordes he spake with greater auaunte. then truthe. And sent his treasure and Juelles with a smalle conuoye to Damasco in Syria. and entred with his Army into Cilicia. bryngyng with hym accordyng to hys Countrey maner. both his mother. his wyfe. his little sonne. and his doughters. It chaunsed the same night that Alexāder was come to the strayte entryng into Syria. Darius came vnto ꝑ place which they cal Pylae Amānicae. The Persiās not doubtig at al. but that the Macedōs would

Pylae Amanicae.

would haue forsaken the Citie of Isson, and fled away for feare, for certayne of thē that were weke and could not folowe were taken, the whiche Darius through instigacion of the great men about him, raging in barbarouse crueltie, caused their handes to be cut of, and to be lead about his campe, to the entēt they might behold the multitude of his men, whom after sufficient bowe taken, he lette go to shewe Alexander what they had sene. Darius remoued and passed the riuer of Pirame of purpose to pursue after the Macedons, whiche he thought had bene fleing away. They whiche had their handes cut of, came runnyng in amonges the Macedons, declaryng that Darius was commyng in greate haste. There was scarsely any credens geuen to their wordes, but to be sure Alexander sent spyes towardes the Sea coaste, to knowe whether Darius were there in persone, or els had sent some other to make a shewe of a powre. The Spies retournyng dyd reporte that his hole army was at hand, and straycht wayes the fierce myght be sene, whiche gaue suche a shewe (by reason they lay straglyng so farre abrode to get forage) as though the hole Countrey had bene on fyre. When Alexander was assertayned of the truthe, he encamped in thesame place where the tydynges came vnto hym, beyng marueylous glad that he knewe he should fyght, specially in the streyghtes whiche was the thing that he had alwayes desyred. But as it is commonly sene when daunger and extremitie is at hand, confidens is conuerted into feare. So he doubted not without greate cause, that fortune myght charge vpon hym, by whose fauour he had done so great actes, & considered her mutabilitie by such thinges as she had takē from other and geuen to hym, he sawe there was no

Alexanders Imaginacio before the battaille.

pro-

prorogracio of the time.but that after one night passed the victory should be determined. But on ỹ other side. he called vnto remẽbraunce howe the reward ensuing of the victory.farre exceded the aduenture. For as the same was dowbtfull.so beyng dil confited. he was certayne to dye with honour and perpetuall praise. When he had waied these thinges,he gaue order that the souldiours should refresshe them selues. and at the third watche to be armed and in a redines to set forwardes. He himselfe went vp into the toppe of a mountayn with many torches and lightes about hym. where he made sacrifice vnto the goddes after his Countrey maner. And when the houre was come apointed vnto the souldiers.at the thad sound of the trompet. they ware in a redines both to marche and fight. Then exhortacion was geuen vnto them to passe on with bould courage.and so by the spryng of the day they were come to the streightes wherein their purpose was to preuent Darius. By that time such as were sent before to scowre the contrey. came in and reported that the Perciens were within.30. furlonges. Then the battayles were stayed and set in suche order as they should fight. Lyke as Alexander was enfourmed of Darius.so he was aduertised of Alexander by the pesauntes of the coũtrey. whiche came fearfully runnyng vnto hym. declaryng that Alexander was at hande. These wordes were not beleued.for they could not thinck them to be commyng. whom they thought before to be fledde. But when thei perceiued that it was so in dede. because they were in better order to pursue their enemies then to encoũtre with them in battaile.they were stricken with a maruelous sodeine feare. Euery man toke him to his armour in haste. whiche haste and the callyng that one made

vpon

vpon an other did put a greater feare amonges them. Some ran vp to the toppes of the hilles to viewe the Macedons other fell to bryding their horses. So that the hoste full of duersite and not ruled by any certayn gouernement. with their hurley burley, put all thinges out of ordre. Darius at the first had apointed one part of his power to take the mountayne. Whiche settyng vpon his enemies backes might enclose them both behynde and before: and assigned an other company to passe along the sea syde whiche was on the right hand. to kepe his enemies doing on euery parte. He gaue ordre also that. xx. thousand fotemen with a band of Archers should passe the ryuer of Pyramus. and geue an vnset that way. But if they found any impedimēt why they might do so. then he willed them to retire amōges the mountaines. and to inuade their enemies on their backes. But fortune whiche was of greater force then any policie. determined those thinges that were wel deuised according as she thought good. For some durste not for feare execute the thing that was commaunded them. and then the rest worked in vayne. for where the membres faile the hole body is confounded. The ordre of Darius army stode thus arāgid to fight: his power being deuided into two battailles, one marchig on the left hand and the other on the right. Nabarzanes enpaled the battaille on the right hād with a great power of horsmē. and. xxx. thousand Slingers and Archers. Thymones was also in ẏ battaille with. xxx. thousand mercenary Grekes. being in very deade Darys chiefest force a power equall vnto Phalanx of the Macedons. In the battaille on the left hand Aristomenes was in the fore front with. xxx. M. fotemen hauing plāted for his succour & relief such nacīōs as were couted moste

The ordre that Darys gaue for the battaille.

The order of the Persians.

valiaunt

valiaunt. There were about the kynge beyng also in that battayle thre thousand choyse horsemen that were of the ordinary guard of his persone. and .xl. thousand footemen with the horsemen of Hircany and Medya. and the horsemen of other nacions were wynges on both sydes. And besydes these nombres there went before this battaille in a forlorne heape. vi. thousand Slingers and casters of Dartes. All the plaine grouñd betwene the streightes was filled with men of warre. and Darius battaille stode araunged from the mountayne downe to the Sea syde. The mother and wyfe of Darius with all the flockes of women were receyued into the myddes of the battaille. Alexander on the other syde set his square battaille of fote men called Phalanx (beyng the Macedons chiefest force) in the fore fronte. Myeanor the sonne Parmenio was captayne of the battaylle on the ryght hande. and with him Cenos and Perdicas Meleager. Tolomeus. and Amintas were ioyned euery one with his owne bande. Parmenio & Caterus had the rule of the battaille on the left hand. whiche stretched towardes the Sea. but Parmenio had the chief charge. Horsemen were set in wynges to both those battailles. The Macedõ & Thessalien horsemen beyng apoynted to the rygth hande battaille. and the horsemẽ of Peleponese to the battaile on the other side. before whiche battaylle there were also set Slingers with Archers amonges them. and the Cretences that were lyghtely armed. went before the mayne battaille. The band of Agrians that were lately come out of Grece. were assigned to encoũtre wt those ẏ Darius had sent to take ẏ toppe of ẏ mouñtaine. He willed Parmenio ẏ as much as he might he should stretch out his bãd towardes ẏ sea. to withdrawe as farre as he

The order of the Macedons.

as he could from the hilles. whiche the enemies had taken. But such as had direcciō by Darius to take the hilles neither durste reſiſte ſuche as came againſt thē, nor yet to cōpaſſe thoſe about that were paſſed by thē, but fled away at the firſt ſight of the Slingers. Which thing chaunſed wel for Alexander. for it was the thing that he doubted moſte. that they from the higher groūd ſhould inuade the open ſide of his battaille. whiche lay vnflancked towardes them. The Macedons marched xxxii. in a rāke. for the ſtreightnes of the groūd would not ſuffer them to go any broder. but by little and little as the playne betwene the mountaynes began to enlarge. ſo they had libertie both to make their battailles broder. and alſo for the horſemen to marche vpon the ſydes. Whē both the battailes were come within ſight togethers. the Perſians firſt gaue a terrible and rude ſhoute. whiche was agayn doubled of the Macedons. not with their nombre whiche were farre inferiour vnto the Perſians. but with the rebounde of the hilles and the rockes. which doubled euery voice of theirs. Alexander did ryde vp and downe before the frontes of his battailles. makyng a ſygne to his ſouldiours with his hand. that they ſhould not make ouermuche haſte to ioyne with their enemies. for bringing thēſelues out of breath. And as he paſſed by. he vſed to euery naciō ſondry exhortacions. as he thought mete for their diſpoſicions and qualitie. He put the Macedons in remembraunce of their olde prowes and māhode with the nōbre of battailles that they had wonne in Europe. howe that they were come hether aſwel by their own deſires as by his conducte. to ſubdue Aſia and the vttermoſte bondes of the Orient. He ſhewed them to be the people that were ordayned to conquere the worlde. & to paſſe

The exhortacions that Alexander gaue vnto his ſouldiours.

the boundes both of Hercules & Bachus. He declared that both Bactria and Inde ſhould be theirs. in reſpect of whiche the coũtreis that they had ſene were but trifles. & yet were to be gotten all with one victory. wherin he ſaid their trauaile ſhould not be in vain. as it was in the baraine rockes of Illiria. or in the mountaynes of Thrace. but that in this cõqueſt the ſpoyle of the hole Orient was offred vnto them. For the getting whereof they ſhould ſcarſely nede to occupie their wordes. ſince the battailes of their enemies wauered ſo alredy for feare. that with their approche only they ſhould put thẽ to flight. He reduced his father Philip vnto their memory how he cõquered the Atheniãs with the coũtrey of Boetia. where he raſed to the ground the noble cytie of Thebes. After that he made reherſall of the battail wonne at the ryuer of the Granik. and of all the Cities that he had taken. or that had bene youlden vnto hym. with the countreis thei had paſſed through & ſubdued. When he came vnto the Grekes. he deſired them to call to mynd the greate warres that had bene made againſt their countrey in tymes paſt by the Perſians. Firſt by the pride of the Xerxes and after by Darius who made deſtruction both by water and land in ſuche ſorte that the riuers could not ſerue them of drinke. nor the earth of victualles for to eate: reherſyng alſo howe the Temples of their Goddes had bene by them polu-ted and put to ruen. their Cyties ouerthrowen. and the truces and promyſes by them violated and broken that were confirmed both by deuine and humanie lawes. When he was paſſed by the Illirians and Thracians whiche were accuſtomed alwayes to lyue vpon thefte. and ſpoyle: he bad them behold their enemies whiche gliſtered with gold. and bare no armour. but ſpoyle fro

them

them & take. He encouraged them to go forwardes like men and pluck the pray from those effeminat wome. & to make exchaunge of their craggie rockes and bare hilles alwaies full of snowe for the plentiful groundes and ryche landes of Perce. By the time he had made these exhortacions they were come within throwe of their dartes. And Darius horsemē gaue a fierce charge vpon the right hand battaille of the Macedōs. For Darius desire was to trie ỹ battaille by horsemen iudging (as it was indede) that ỹ chiefest power of his enemies consisted in their square battaille of fotemē. So that ỹ battaille where Alexāder was, was brought to the point of enclosing about if he had not preuied ỹ same in time. who cōmaunded two tropes of his horsemē to kepe the top of the hill & brought all the rest to the encounter of his enemies. Then he cōueied the Thessalians horsmē from the place where they stode to fight, willing their captain to bring thē about behind the battailles & there ioyning with Parmenio to do the thing manfully ỹ he should appounct thē. By this the Phalanx of the Macedōs in maner enclosed about vp their enemies, fought notably on all partes, but they stode so thick, & so were ioyned one to an other, that there wāted scope to welde their dartes. Thei were so migled together, ỹ in eatīg one letted another: very few lighted vpō ỹ enemies vp weake dintes & the moste parte fel on ỹ groūd without harme doing, wherfore being enforced to ioyne hād for hand, they valiauntly vsed the swoorde. Then there was great effusiō of bloud for both tharmies closed so nere that their harnes clasthed together, wepō against wepō & foyned one at an others face vp their swordes. Ther was no place for ỹ fearfull or ỹ coward for to fle back. but eche set his fote to other & by fighting kept stil their place, til thei could make their way bi force. & so always

The battail betwixt Darius and Alexander.

passed forwardes. as they could ouerthrowe their enemies, being wearied and trauailed thus with fightyng, they were euer receiued with freshe enemies: & suche as were wounded myght not parte out of the battaille (as it hath bene sene els where) their enemies assayled them so fiersly before, and their fellowes thrust on so hard behind. Alexander did that day not only suche thynges as pertained to a Captayne, but aduentured himself as farre as any priuate souldier, couetyng by al meanes to kill Darius whiche he estemed the greatest honour. Darius did ride alofte vpon his chariot geuing great prouocation both to his enemies to assayle hym, and for his own men to defend him. As Oratres his brother apeared moste notable amonges them all in his furniture and personage, so in hardines and affection towardes the kyng he exceaded farre the rest. specially in that case of necessitie. For when he sawe Alexander approche so nere, he thruste in before Darius with the band of horsemen wherof he had the charge, where as ouerthrowing diuerse, he put many to flight. But the Macedones swarmed so about the kyng and were in suche a courage by therhortacio that eche made to other, that they charged againe vpon that band of horsemen. Then apeared the slaughter lyke an ouerthrowe. About the Chayre of Darius lay the moste noble of his Captaines, all dyeng honorably afore the eies of their kyng, with their faces to the grou̅d like as they fel, receiued their death wou̅des without turnyng their backes: Amonges whome Atticies, Romythes, & Sabaces gouernour of Egipt, that had the charge of great nombres of men, were ouerthrowen and slayne, and about them there lay by heapes a huyge nombre of the vulgare sorte, both of horsemen and fotemen. Of the

Oratres his brother.

Macedons

Macedons also some were slayne of suche as pressed moste forewarde. amonges whome the right shoulder of Darius was somwhat hurte with a swoorde. In this thronge the horses that drue Darius Chariot. were thruste in with pykes. whiche beyng woode for payne of their woundes. began to stroggle and ouerthrowe their maister Darius. He fearyng therfore to be taken alyue. leaped downe and was set vpon a ledde horse. and so ledde away cattyng from his head his diademe because he would not be knowen. Then all his men forfeare dispatkled. flyeng by suche wayes as were open for them. and throwe away their armoure whiche before thei had taken for their defence. Suche a thing is feare. that refuseth the thyng that should be his sauegarde. When Parmenio sawe them flee. he straight commaunded the horsemen to pursue them in the chase. and put all his enemies to flyght that were on that parte. But on the other hand the Persians dyd put the Tessalians horsemen to a sore streste. for at the first shock they had broken one of their tropes: yet for all that when the Tessalians sawe their enemies passe through them. they closed themselues together agayne and charged vpō the Persians. who by reason of their onsetgeuing and for that they though themselues sure of the victory. became cleane out of ordre. & were ouerthrowen with great slaughter. The Tessalians had herein a great aduauntage by reason that the Persiās besides that they be armed thēselues haue their horses also barbed with plates of stele. whiche was the cause that they could not. either in the vnset. or retire be so quicke as ỳ Tessaliās were: for by their celeritie wherin the feate of horsemen chiefly consiste. they had ouerthrowen many of them before they could tourne their

Darius ouerthrowen.

horses about. When Alexãder vnderstode that his mẽ preuailed of their enemies on that parte likewise, was bold then to folowe in the chase, whiche he durst not do before he knew the battail to be clerely wõne & thennemies repulsed on all sides. Alexãder had not about him aboue a .M. horsemẽ, with whõ he slewe innumerable of his enemies. For who is he that in an ouerthrowe or a chase can nõbre men? Those few Macedõs did driue the multitude of their enemies before thẽ like shepe. & thesame feare that caused thẽ flee, stayed thẽ likewise in their flieng. The Grecians that were on Darius side, vnder their capitain Amyntas which sõtime had bene in great auctoritie with Alexander. but then against him, brake out from the rest and marched away in ordre of battaill. All the rest fled diuerse wayes, some directly towardes Perce, & some by pathes. & priuy wayes escaped by the moũtaines & the woodes. A few ther where that recouerad their former cãpe, whiche they could not defend any time against the Macedons that were victours, but thesame immediatly was wonne being habundãt of all riches of gold & siluer with appertaining not only to the warres but to all voluptuousnes & excesse: whiche riches whiles the souldiers violẽtly spoiled, they strowed the waies full of packes and fardels, whiche they would not touche in respect of ỹ couetous desire they had to thinges of greater valew. But when thei came vnto the women as their tirementes were moste precious, the more violẽtly thei plucked thẽ away and their bodies were not fre from their lustes & enforcement. The campe euery where was ful of tumulte & lamentaciõ, as chaũce fel to eche one. The libertie of ỹ victours was suche, that their crueltie raged vpon all ages & kynd of creatures, & no kynd of mischief wãted

Amyntas.

amonges

amonges thē. There might haue bene sene the variablenes of fortune. when they whiche had prepared Darius pauilion with al kynd of delicacie and riche furniture reserued & kept the same for Alexand as for their old maister. for the Macedons had lefte that vnspoiled according to their auncient custome which are euer wōt to receiue their king whē he is victorious into the kinges pauilion that he hath vanquished. The mother and wyfe of Darius that where there taken prisoners moued all men to caste their eyes and inwarde contēplacion towardes thē. whereof thone deserued to be reuerenced for the maner that was in her. & for her yeares and the other for the excellēcy of her beuty. which through her misaduentur was nothing stained. She was sene embracing her littell sonne in her armes not yet of the age of. vi. yeares borne as inheritour to the dominion whiche his father newly had loste. There lay also two yong virgines in their grādmothers lappe. yeuen them mariable. whiche languyshed and lamēted not somuch through their own priuate sorowe. as for ỹ dolorousnes of thould woman. About the mother and the wife were a great nombre of noble womē that pulled their heare. and tare their clothes without respecte what appertened to their estate. Who brimyndfull of the falle Darius wife and his mother were come vnto. called them by the name of Quenes. with suche other titles of honour as they did before. They all had forgot their own misery & were diligēt to enquire ỹ fortune of the field. & what successe ỹ battell had that Darius was in. For if he were alyue (they sayd) they could in no wise thinke thēselues prisoners: But he by the chaunging of many horses was by that tyme fled far awaye. There were slayne of the Persians a hundred thousand footemen.

Darius mother his wyfes his children take prisoners

.xi. hundre
vi thē that
were slayne

and.x.M.horsemen. And of Alexanders cōpany only
v.C.xiiii.hurte.⁊.xxvii.kotemē and.Cl. horsemē killed:
So great a victory was gotten with so small a losse. Alexander that was weried with pursuyng of Darius.
when he perceaued the night to drawe on. ⁊ that there
was no hope to ouertake him whom he folowed. returned into the Persians campe whiche a little before his
commyng was taken by his men. that night he made a
banquet to suche as he accustomed to call for the hurte
of his shoulder. wherof the skinne was but smaly perished. letted him not to kepe cōpany. As thei sat at meat
sodainly they heard a piteful crie with a straunge howling and lamentacion. that put them all in great feare:
Insomuche that the band that kept the watche about ꝑ
kinges pauilion. fearing it to be the beginning of some
greater matter. began to arme themselues. The wyfe
and mother of Darius with the other noble womē that
were taken prisoners. were the cause of this sodayne
feare by lamenting of Darius. whō they supposed had
bene slayne. Which opinīō they conceiued through one
of the Enuches. whiche standing before their tent dore
sawe a souldier cary a parcel of Darys diademe. which
he a litle before had cast from his head. When Alexander vnderstode their errour wept (as it was said) to cō
sider Darius myshortune. and the womens affectiō towardes him. And for their comforte sent to them one
Mythenes Mythenes that betrayed Sardes who was experte
in the Persian tonge. but yet cōsidering that the sight
of him beig a traitour should but encrease their sorow.
Leonatus. sent a noble mā called Leonatus to declare to thē how
they were deceiued. ⁊ that Darius was a liue. He came
towardes the tent where the womē were. with certain
men in harnes. ⁊ sent worde before that he was come

thether

thether frō the kyng.but when such as stode at the tent
doze sawe armed men cōming. supposing their errand
had bene to murther their mestresses. ran into them &
cried out that their laste houre was come. for the men
were at hand that were sent to kill thē. The seruaūtes
therfore ꝑ neither durst let Leonatus in. nor kepe him
out.brought him no aunswere.but remained quietly to
se what he would do. When Leonatus had long taried
at the doze & sawe none came fourth to call him in. left
his men without & entred amōges the women. Whose
comming vnto them before he was admitted. was the
thing that feared thē moste of al. The mother therfore
& wyfe of Darius fell down at his fete.requiring hym
that before thei were slaine.he would suffer thē to bury
Darius after his countrey manner.whiche laste obser-
vaunce perfourmed they were cōtent(they said)gladly
to suffer death. Leonatus assured them that both Da-
rius was aliue. & that there was no harme towardes
them.but should remaine in the same estate thei were in
before. When Sisigābis heard those wordes. she was
content to be lift vp from the ground. & to receiue some
comforte. The next day Alexander with great diligēce
buried the bodies of such of his owne men as could be
founde.and willed the same to be done to the noble mē
of the Persians. geuing licence to Darius mother to
bury so many as she list.after ꝑ custume of her cōtrey.
whiche thing she perfourmed to a fewe that were next
of her kynne.according to the habilitie of her ꝓsente
fortune. for if she should haue vsed the Persians pōpe
therin.ꝑ Macedons might haue enuied it.which being
victours vsed no great curiositie in the matter. Whē ꝑ
due was perfourmed to the dead.Alexāder signified to
the women ꝓsoners that he himself would come to vi-

Sphestion.

stie them and cauling such as came with hym to tarie without. he only with Ephestion entred in amonges thē. Thesame Ephestion of all men was moste dere vnto Alexander brought vp in his companie from his yougth, & moste preuie with him in al thinges. There was none that had such libertie to speake his mynde plainlye to the kinge as he had. Which he vsed after suche sorte, that he seamed to do it by no authoritie but by sufferaunce. and as he was of like yeares vnto him. so in makig and personage he did somwhat excel hym. Wherfore the women thinking Ephestion to be the kinge did falle downe and worshyp hym as there contrey maner was to do to kinges till suth tyme as one of the Enukes that was takē prysoner shewed which of them was Alexander. Then Sisigambis fell downe at his fete requiring pardon of her ignoraūce. forsomuche as she did neuer se him before. The king toke her vp by the hand, and saied: mother you be not deceyued, for this is Alexandar also. Whiche his humilitie continēcy of mind if he had continually obserued to this latter daies, I would haue thought him muche

Adisgrision.

more hapier then he was. whē that he hauing subdued all Asia from Hellispont to the Oceiā see, would counterfiet the triūphes of Bacchus. Or if that amonges the reste of hys conqueste he woulde haue labored to conquere his pride and his Ire, which be vices inuincible. Or if that in his dronkenes he would haue abstayned from the slaughter of his nobilitie. and not to haue put to deathe those excellent men of warre without iudgemēt, that helped him to cōquere so many nacions. At this time ỹ greatnes of his fortune had not yet altered his nature, but afterwardes he coulde not beare his victories whith ỹ vertue, ỹ he did winne thē.

Then

Thē he behaued him selfe after suche a manner that he exceded in continencie and cōpassion all the kinges þ had bene before his time. Entreating þ two Queenes with thole Virgines that ware of excellent bewtye so reuerently as if thei had bene his sisters. He not only absteyned from all violacion of Darius wife. with in beuty excelled all the women of her time. but also toke great care and diligence þ none other should procure her to any dishonour. And to all þ womē he cōmaūded their ornementes and apparell to be restored. So þ thei wāted nothing of the magnificēce of their former estate. sauing only that assured cōfidēce that creatures want in mysery. Whiche thinges considred by Sisigambis she said vnto þ king. Sir your goodnes towardes vs doth deserue þ we shuld make þ same praier for you þ we did somtyme for Darius. and we perceiue yow worthye to passe so greate a kyng as he was. in felicitie and good fortune. that habound so in iustice and clemencie. you vouchsaue to cal me by the name of mother and of Quene. but I confesse my selfe to be your hand maide. For bothe I conceiue the greatnes of my estate passe. and feale þ I can beare this present seruitude. It lieth only in your handes how we shall be delt with all. and whether ye wyll make vs notable to the worlde through your clemencie or crueltie. The kynge comforted them all he myght. and willing them to be of good chere. toke Darius sonne in hys armes. Wherat the childe was nothinge afrayde. hauyng neuer sene him before. but toke and embraced him about the necke. He was so moued with the constantry of the child that he beheld Ephestion. and saied. oh I would that Darius had had some part of thys gentle disposicion. When he was departed from

Alexanders cōyuuacie and Clemēcye.

Sisigambis words vnto Alexander.

from thence he caused .iii. aultars to be made vpon the Ryuer of Pitamus. and there did sacrifice to Iupiter. Hercules and Minerua and so went forwardes into Syria. He sent Parmenio before to Damasco. whereas Darius treasure did remayne: who vnderstanding by the way that Darius had sent one of his nobles thether. fearing that for the smalnes of his owne nombre. the Damascēs would kepe him out. determined to send for a greater power. but by chaunce one Mardus fell into the handes of the horsemē that he had sent before to score the Countrey. whiche beyng brought before Parmenio deliuered hym the letters that the Capitayne of Damasco had sent to Alexander. and besydes the letters added of hym selfe. that he doubted not but all Darius ryches and his treasure should be deliuered to hym at his arriuall. Parmenio geue the charge to certayne of his men for his sure keapyng. and then opened the letters. wherin it was cōteined that Alexāder in all haste should sende one of his Capitaines thether with a small power. Whiche thyng knowē. he sent Mardus backe agayne to Damasco with certayne to accompany hym. but he escaped out of their handes & came to Damasco before day light. That thig troubled greatly Parmenio. doubting that they had layde some embushement for him. & therefore durst not go an vnknowen way without a guide. yet notwithstāding vpō the confidence he had in the felicitie of his prince. toke pesantes of the coūtrey to cōduite him the way. which the fourth day brought him to the Cytie of Damasco. The captain doubting þ credēce should not haue bene geuen to his letter pretended to mistruste the strength of the towne. and made countenaunce as though he would fle away. And by spyyng of the daye he caused

Syria.
Damasco.
Mardus.

Darius

Darius treasure (whiche the Persians call Gaza) with the rest of all his precious thinges to be brought forth of the towne of purpose to betray thesame into the Macedons handes. Then there were many thousandes of men and women that folowed, a piteous syght to all that sawe them, sauyng to hym to whose fidelitie they were committed. For he to wynne hymself thanckes, purposed to deliuer to his enemies a praye more precious then all the rest, which were those of the nobilitie he had in keping. With the wiues and childrē of great men that bare rule vnder Darius, and besides the Embassadours of the Cities of Greece, whome Darius had left in the Traitours handes as in a fortresse (as he thought) of moste suertie. The Persians call those Gangabe that cary burthens vpon their shoulders, who hauing the cariage of thinges of moste valoure, when they could not endure the colde for the frost and snowe that sodainly fell, they put vpon them the robes of cloth of gold and purple, which they caried wrapt vp together with the money, there being no man to let the. For the aduersitie of Darius caused that base sorte of men to vse a licencious libertie. Those kynde of men seamed to Parmenio at the first sight to be no smal army, and therfore regarded not the matter litle, but gaue exhortatiō to those that were with him, as though they should haue fought a sore battail, and willed them to put their spurres to their horse and geue the charge: Whiche thynge perceiued by them that bare the burdeyns fled awaye for feare, and so dyd the men of warre that were with them by such wayes as they best knewe. The Capitayne of Damasco counterfeityng suche feare as other feared in dede, was the cause of all this confusion. The ryches of Darius was left a

lone

lone and lay ſpatkled abrode ouer all the fieldes. with the money that was prepared for the wages of ſo infynite a nombre of Souldiers. and alſo thapparell of ſo many great men and noble women. veſſell of golde. golding furnimentes for horſes. paulions adorned with regall magnificens. and wagons full of infinite ryches. A thing euen ſorowfull to behold to the ſpoiles if any thing could ſtay the couetouſenes of men. Was it not a pytefull thynge to behold the ryches that had bene gathered together in ſo great nombre of yeares. whiles the ſtate of the Perſians ſtode in that incredyble heigthe of fortune. one parte to be borne with buſſhes. and an other drowned in the myer. it beyng ſo great beſides that the handes of the ſpoilers could not ſuffiſe for the ſpoile. When the horſemē had ouertaken them that fled firſt they found diuers womē haryng of the ſmale chyldren amonges whome there whete foure Virgins the doughters of Ochus that reigned next before Darius. Thei before that time had ſuffred chaunge of fortune. when the ſtate was altered from their fathers line. But this aduerſitie was much more greuous vnto them. There was in thys flocke the wife of Ochus. the daughter of Oxatrix that was Darius brother. and the wife of Artabaſus which was of the head houſe of Perſia. And alſo hys ſonne called Ilioneſus. The wyfe and the ſonne of Farnabazus were alſo taken. to whom Darius had commytted the charge of al ȳ ſea coſtes. With thē the thre doughters of Mentor. and the wyfe and the Sonne of the noble captain Memnon. there was ſcarſely any houſe of the nobilitie of Perſia that was fre of that euel aduēture There were bothe Lacedemonians and Athenians. that contrary to the league betwene Alexander and them

Ochus kyng before Darius.

them. toke Darius parte. Amonges the Athenians Aristogiton. Hypsides. and Leuettes were of moste notable fame and linage. And of the Lacedemonians the chefest were Heristippus and Onomastorides with Omanys and Callicratides. The some of the coined money there taken was two thousand .lx. talentes & of massy siluer .v. hundred talentes. Besides .xxx. thousand men. and .vii. thousand beastes that caried burdeins on their backes. But the goddes did persecute with due punishement the betraier of such a treasure. For one whom he had made priuie to ỹ matter pitieng therin the state of hys prince dyd sle the traitour and brought his head to Darius a comfort not vnapte for the tyme to the betrayed kyng. For therby he was both reuenged of his ennemy and perceiued that the memorie due vnto hys state. was not growen out of al mens hartes.

The somme of the treasure taken at Damasco

(.*.)

The fourth boke of

Quintus Curtius of the actes of the great Alexander kyng of Macedonie.

(.*.)

DArius whiche alittle before was Lorde of so great an army, and that came vnto the field ca ried aloofte vpon his chariot more like to triū phe then to fight: fled by the places then waste and deserte whiche he before had filled with his infinite nombres of men of warre. There were but fewe that folowed hym, for neither they fled all one way, nor suche as folowed could kepe pace with him that so oftē chaunged horses. At length he came to Unchas where he was receiued of .iiii. or .v. thousand Grekes, whiche conducted him to the Ryuer of Euphrates, thinkyng that onely to be his, in the whiche he could preuent Alexander by his haste makyng. Parmenio was apointed gouernour of Siria, and to be the keper of the treasure and prisoners whiche he toke at Damasco. The Sirians could not at the first beare their newe gouernement, because they had not yet felt the scourge of the warres: but as they reuolted, they were straightway subdued, perfourming all that they were apointed to do. The Ile of Arade was yeldē to Alexāder, whereof Strato was kyng, that had in subiection all the sea coaste with diuerse of the Inland countreis, whiche being subdued by the Macedons, Alexander remoued to the cytie of Marathon, where he receyued letters from Darius that put him in great coller, because they were so arrogantly written, the speciall poincte that moued

Unchas.

Strato king of Arade.

Letters frō Darius vnto Alexand

moued Alexãder was for that Darius writing himself king. did not vouchsaue to geue him that title. but dyd write rather by way of cõmaundement then of request proffering for the ransom of his wife & childrẽ somuch money as Macedon could receiue. For the superioritie (he said) he put it to his choise. to trie it by the sworde if he liste. but if he would be better aduised. he willed him to be content with his owne enheritaice. & so he would ioyne in amitie with him & become his frend. in whiche point he was redy to enter into treatie. Alexander did write to him againe after this maner: Darius whose name thou hast vsurped. did great destruction vpon the Grekes inhabitting on the coast of Hellespont. and vpõ the Iomans whiche be Greke cytes. and from thence did passe the sea w a great army to make warre against Greece and Macedon. And also king Xerxes the predecessour came to subdue vs with infinitie nõbres. which being vanquished in a battel on the sea. left notwithstãding Mardonius behind him in Greece. to destroy their cities. and burne their coũtreis. It is manifest besides that Philip my father was slayne. by such as were corrupted therũto with your money. ye vndertake always vniust warres. and occupyeng armes. go about for all that to circumuent men with treason. As thou of late hauing suche nõbre of men in thine army diddest procure my death with the promis of a thousand talentes. I am not therfore the beginner of the warres. but repulse such iniuries as be proffered me. In doing wher of through the help of the Goddes. which fauour alway the right. haue brought the more parte of Asia vnder my subiectiõ: & hauing ouercõme the in battail by force of armes. there is no cause that I should graunt the anything whiche haste not obserued towardes me the

Alexanders answere to Darius letters.

lawe of armes. yet if thou wilt come and submit thyselfe I promis the that I will deliuer frely both thy mother wife and childrē. for both I knowe howe to get the victory and howe to vse suche as I ouercome: but if thou feareste to commit thy selfe to vs. I will geue the safeconduite to come frely. In the reste when thou writeste vnto me. remembre that thou writeste not only to a king but also vnto hym that is thy kyng. He sent this letter by Therippus. and went from thence into Phenicia. where the Cytie of Biblon was youlden vnto him. And so came vnto Sydon which was a Cytie of great nobilitie by reason of the antiquitie and fame of the builders. The same was vnder Stratos dominiō. supported by the power of Darius who yeldyng more by the constreinte of the people. then of his own good will was thought vnworthy to reigne there. Alexand made a graunt to Ephestion that he should make suche one kyng. whome the Sidons thought moste worthy that place. There were diuerse noble yong men in that cytie that had familiaritie with Ephestion. of whome he purposed to haue chosen one kynge: but they refused his offre. affirming that none myght enioye that dignitie except he were descended of the bloud royall. Ephestion wondred at the magnanimitie that was in them. in despisyng the thyng. whiche other sought for by swoorde and fier. and therfore sayd: continewe you still in that vertuous mynde. whiche be the firste that haue vnderstande howe muche more better it is to refuse. then to receyue a kyngdome. Chouse ye therefore suche one of the bloud royall. that may remembre that he hath receyued the rule at your handes. But when they sawe that diuers gaped for it. and for the gredines they had to reigne. fell to flatteryng such as were nere

Phenicia.
Biblon
Sydon.

about

about Alexander. resolued that there was none more mete for that dignitie then one Abdolominus who being of the auncient bloud of the kynges. for pouertie was enforced to dwell in a smale grange without the Cytie. His honestie was the cause of his pouertie (as it is to many other) and beyng occupied in his daily labour. harde no noyse of the warres that troubled all Asia. They of whome we spake of before came into his garden with garmentes to apparell hym lyke a kyng and found him weding of his ground. whome they saluted as kyng. and sayd vnto hym, you muste make exchaunge of the vilenes of your apparell with these ryche robes we here p̄sent you: washe the body ꝑ is now foull and filthe. take vpon you the harte of a kyng, and in the fortune you be worthy to haue, shewe the same moderation and continencie you do vse presently. And when you shall sit in your regall seate, hauing in your handes power of the life and death of your people. do in no wyse forget the estate ye were in when ye toke the kyngdom vpon you. nor yet for what purpose ye did receiue it. The matter seamed to Abdolominus lyke a dreame. and asked them if they were madde that would mocke him after that manner. But when he sawe thē affirme by othes the thyng to be in earnest, he washed himself. & receiued the garment which was of purple & gold. & so went with thē into the palaice. The fame (as is wont in such a case) did notably ronne abrode of this matter. Some fauored the cause. & some did disdain it. but suche as were riche did reproue his pouertie & base estate to such as were nere about Alexād. which caused the king to send for him. & when he had lōg beholdē his behauour. saied: your personage doth not disagree to the fame of your lynage. But I desire much to know with

Abdolominus was made kyng

what pacience you did sustain your pouertie. I would to God (qō he) I could beare my prosperitie in like case now when I am a kyng. These handes did get that I desired & hauing nothing I lacked nothing. His wordes caused Alexander to conceiue of him a maruelous opinion. so that he gaue vnto him not only the ryches. stuf. and furnimentes that appertained to the king before. but also many thinges that were takē frō the Persians. adding to his dominion all the countrey nere about the citie. In the meane season Amyntas with. iiii M. Grekes that escaped with him out of the field fled to Tripolis where he enbarked them & sailed vnto Cipres. thinking the world to be such then. that euery one might enioy ꝑ he could get. like as it had bene his owne enheritaūce. His purpose was to go into Egipt. & so he thought to becōme enemy both to Darius & Alexander waying with the worlde. according as the tyme should alter. To byg therfore his souldiers to hope wel of his enterprice. he declared how ꝑ gouernour of Egipt was slaine in the battell. & that ꝑ Persiās left their enguarrison were but of smale nōbre. of littel force. & without any head. He shewed how the Egipciās vsed to rebel against their gouernours wherfore they were sure to be receiued as frendes. For since necessitie (qōhe) hath enforced vs to proue our fortunes. which saitig vs in our first hope. we must now thinck ꝑ thiges to come shalbe much better thē our ꝑsent estat. They al agreed vō one voice ꝑ he should leade thē where he liste. wherupō thinking good not to pretermit thoccasiō whiles ꝑ hope was hote in their hartes. cōueied thē into Egipt & entred ꝑ haue at Pelusiū vnder pretence ꝑ he had bene sent thether by Darius. Whē he had gotte Pelusiū he set forwardes towards Mēphis. at ꝑ fame of wose coming ꝑ

Tripolis.

Amintas perswasion to his souldiours.

Pelusium

Memphis.

Egiptians

Egyptians beyng a lyght nation and more apt to make a flyght, then to maintayne it when it is once begonne, ran to hym out of al townes and villages with entent to destroy all the Persians, who notwithstanding for all the feare they were in, did not leaue the defence of the countrey, but fought with the Grekes and were put to flyght. After that victory Amintas besieged Memphis, and his men destroyed so all the countrey there aboutes that they left nothing unspoiled. Whereupon Mazeches though he perceiued his souldiers much amased with the feare of their late ouerthrowe, yet when he sawe his enemies scattered abrode, & without order for the paine they had continued of their victory, at length perswaded his men to issue out of the cytie and in setting upon their enemies to recouer again that they had lost. Which he almost hadde of it selfe, tooke by good handling a more fortunate successe for the seruice at that tyme both Amintas and all his company. This punishement he suffred for the offence committed to both princes. Being neither faithfull to Alexander whome he forsake, nor to Darius to whom he fled. Darius captaines which escaped from the battaile at Issos gathering together such men as were scattered after ỹ battaile, with such power besides as they could leuie in Capadocea and Paphlagonia, did attempte to recouer again the countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was gouernour for Alexander there, who notwithstanding that he had take many souldiers out of the quarrisones to send vnto Alexander: yet he so litle esteemed his enemies, that he doubted not to aduenture the battaile, where the Persians perfourmed the like fortune they did in other places: Which attempting the fyght in the sondry countreis, were vanquished in them all. At the same

same time the nauie of the Macedons whiche Alexander had sent for out of Grece met Artilomenes (whom Darius had apointed to make warre vpō the coast of Hellespont) where they did take and drowne all his ships. Farnabazus Darius admirall. hauing exacted money at Nulesium. and set guarison in Scio, passed into the Ile of Andros with a hundred shippes. And from thence he went to Syphnus. puttyng men of warre into all the Flandes. exacted of them money. The greatnes of the warre that was in hand betwene two of the moste puissant princes of Asia and Europe. did drawe both Grece and Crete to armes. Agys the kyng of Lacedemon gathered together. viii. thousand Grekes that were come home out of Cilicia. and moued warre to Antipater that was gouernour of Macedonia. The Cretians folowing sometime one parte & sometyme another receiued one while guarisoners of Macedons. and an other while of Lacedemonians to lie amonges them. But those warres were of no great importaunce. For all mens eies were fixed vpon the warres that were in vre betwene Alexāder & Darius. wherupon all the rest did depend. The Macedons had subdued all Siria & Phenices. Tire only except. which being the greatest & moste notable cytie of all that coūtrey. shewed that they estemed themselues worthy rather to ioyne with Alexāder as frendes. then to become his subiectes. For when he was come nere vnto them. and encamped vpon the the mayn land. whiche is deuided from their Cytie with a small arme of the Sea. They sent to hym by their Embassadours a crowne of gold for a present. with great plenty besides of victuals for his army. He receiued their giftes. as frō his frēdes and gaue gentle aunsweres vnto the Embassadours: but

aristomenes

Nulesium

Andros

Syphnus

The Cytie of Tyre.

but he shewed the that he desired to make sacrifice vnto Hercules (whom the Tirians specially worshipped:) for the Macedons opinion was that they were desended of him. whiche to do (he sated) he was admonished by an Oracle. the Embassadours answered: that there was a temple of Hercules without their Cytie in the place whiche they call Paleterio. where as he might do sacrifice at his pleasure. At those wordes Alexand could not refraine his Ire. whereunto he was much subiect. but fell in a rage: I perceyue nowe (qd he) because ye dwell in an Iland ye truste so muche in the Situation of your citie that ye despise my land power. But I will shortly do you to vnderstande that ye dwell vpon the mayne land and bring you to suche case as your Iland shal not helpe you: and therfore truste to it that it ye receyue me not in. I will entre by force. When the Embassadours were dismissed with this answere. suche as were nere about the king. persuaded them that they shoulde not exclude him whome all Syria and Phenises had receyued. But they had conceyued such a confidence for that their Cytie stode in the sea beyonde. xxx. furlonges from the mayn land that they vtterly determined to abyde the siege. That Sea of theirs was so muche subiecte to the Southwest wynd whiche make at euery stourme the waues beate so highe against the Shore that it would not suffer the Macedons to make any worke for the ioynyng of the mayn land to the Cytie. it being scarcely possible to worke any thyng there when the wether was moste cauline. The first worke that the Macedons began was by & by throwē down wt the vehemens of the seas that were mouē by the wynd. For they could make no mole so strōg within ye sea. but

The Siege of Tyre.

that it was washed awaie and brought downe by beating of the waues. And when the wynd blewe fiercely able it wold bring ꝑ Seas clene ouer the worke. Ther was an other difficultie no les then this. For by reason that the walles were enuironed about with the deapnes of ꝑ Sea, they could cayle no engine to thote but a far out of shippes, nor ther was not any ground about the Cytie, wherupon ladders mought haue bene raised against the walles, or approche made vpon the land. Alexander had no shippes, and though he had had some, and would haue coueted to bring them to ꝑ walles, yet by reason of the water, might vnly thote easely haue bene keapt of. But emonges the reste of other thinges, ꝑ Tyrians were wonderfully encouraged by the comminge of the Embassadores that were sent from Cartage to celebrat there yearly sacrifice, according to there custome. For the Tyrians being the builders of Cartage were fayer that tyme had in veneracion as there parentes and furste founders. Those Embassadores exorted the in any wise to abide the siege, and promysed them spedy aid: which they alleged might esely be done, for sondrye as that tyme al the Seas were ful of the Cartage fletes vpon this hatting they determyned to abide, therevnmittie and placed ther engynes vpon the towers and the walles, deuyding ther armour emõges the yought of the Cytie. The Artificers, wherof that Cittie had great plẽty, were deuided into seuerie bandes, to make all suche thinges as were necessarye for the warres. There were deuised certaine instrumentes wherwith they might pull downe the workes that ther ennemies made, called Harpagones, and also crowes of Iron which be named corui, with al other thiges that might

Carthage.

be

be inuented for the defence of Cyties. But a straunge thinge is reported, that whē the Iron was put in the forge & blowne in the fire, the same was seene to be full of droppes of bloud. Whiche maner the Tirians did interprete as a token of good fortune towardes them selues, & as a signification of destruccio towardes their ennemies. A like thing was seene amonges the Macedons for when a certayn Souldier was breakyng of his breade, droppes of bloud appeared therin. Wherat Alexander being aduised, Aristander that was moste conning of all the beholders of their Religion, Did enterprete thus the matter. If the bloud had appered outwardly when it had signified ill fortune to ỹ Macedons but in asmuch as it was found within, it betokened destruction to the Cytie they went about to wynne. Alexander considering this name to be farre from him and that a longe siege should be great impedyment to his other affaires. Sent officers of Armes vnto the Cytie to perswade them vnto peace. whō the Tirians against the lawes of Nacions did drowne in the sea. There vnmylde death stayed Alexander so muche, that he then vtterly determined to go forwardes with the siege. but before he could make his approche it was of necessitie for him to make a Iuets or a Mole. whereby they might passe from the mayne land to the Cytie. But in the making therof ther entered great despaire into all mens hartes. considering the deapnes of the sea which they sawe not possible to be filled scarcely by any deuine power. For they thought no stones so great. any trees so highe. nor any mattery to haue such plentie as might suffise for the buildyng of a bank in such a place, considering the Sea was alwaies troubled. And nacomes the place was betwēe the Cytie and the land.

prodigous sightes.

Aristander.

The lawe of nacions broken.

so much more greater was the rage. But Alexander that had ỹ way to allure his souldiers to what effect hi pleased, declared how that Hercules apered vnto him in his slepe and gaue him his hand profferyng to be his captaine and him guide for the entraunce of the Cite. Therunto he added the killing of his Embassadours, and howe that they had violated and broken the lawe that all nacions obserued. and that there remayned but only one Cytie whiche staied his victorie. Whereupon he deuided the worke amonges his capetines. that euerye one might applye his owne band. And so put the worck in vre. when he had ones sufficiently encouraged his men. There were great plentye of stones had of the mynes of thould Cytie where Tire stode before and for the making of botes and Towres tymber was brought from the mount Libanus. The worcke did growe from the bottom of the Sea like a mountayne. but not yet brought to the highe warter marke. And the further the Pere was wrought from the land vnto the Sea ward. so muche the lower the Sea did swallowe vp the substance of thinges wherof the same was made. Whiles the Macedons were thus about their worcke the Tirias would rõne about them in smale vessels and gaue the wordes of reproche and scorne as that they were nowe become goodly men of warre that would be made pioners & carybardens like beastes vpon their backes And they asked them also If they thought Alexander to be greater then the god of the Sea. But their reproche did not hynder but encrease the cherefulnes of the souldiers in their payne and trauaile. In so muche the mole in a short space surmounted aboue the water, encreasing much in bredth, approched nere vnto the Cytie. Then the

Mounte Libanus.

Tirians

Tyrians seinge the hugenes of the worcke. whereof they before had bene diseased in there opynion. littell thinking that it would haue growen to suche a passe. they in littell vessels came rowynge aboute the Pere. and did driue the soulders with shote from ther worcking. and because it lay in them to hyrynge there boats sodenly forwardes. and returne sone ageine they hurte many of the Macedons without any daunger to them selues. which enclosed them to leue ther worck and fall to ther owne defence. For remedie wherof & to auoyde ther enemies shote. they were compelled to streach out beames hynes upon poles like sayles. and set shote betweene the and their enemies. And besides at the hedde of the Peare they rayled vp two Towres from whence with shote and castinge of dartes they keapt of the boates that came aboutes them. On the other side the Tirians would lande with ther boates farre out of the sight of the Campe & kill such as were carrieng of stones. The peasants besides of Arabie did set vpon certayne Macedons that were scatred abrod in the mount Libanus. where they slewe and toke diuers. That was one cause which moued Alexander to deuide his army. And lest he might seme to remaine solely about the siege of one citie he apointed Perdicas and Craterus to take the charge of the worcke he had in hande and went into Arabia with such parte of his powre as was most apte for his purpose. Arabia. In the meane season the Tyrians prepared a great shyppe laden with stones and grauell behind. so that the fore patte floted aboue the water. which shyp anoynted ouer ith pitche & brymstone. they brought sodenly by sailinge and force of oers vnto the pere and there remaining the mari-

ners

ners set the shippe on fire, and then leaped into boates which folowed after for the purpose. The ship thus set on fire so enflamed the wood worcke pertaining to the pere, that before any reskue could come, the fire had taken the towers and al the rest of the wodes that were made in the head therof. When they that were leaped into the boates sawe the matter take suche effect, they put betwixt the timbre and other bordes plates burning fire brandes, and all suche thinges as might geue nourishement and encrease the fire. So that the towers and al the rest being on a flame, many of the Macedons were consumed therewith, and the rest forsoke their bordes and throwe themselues into the sea. Then the Persians that were more desirous to take them on liue then to kyll them, with staues and stones did so beate them on the handes, as they were swymming, that for werenes they were glad to be taken vp into their boates. The hole worcke was not consumed with this fire only, for it chaunsed also the same daye a terrible wynde to ryse, which blowing out of the Sea, brought the waues with suche violence vpon the Mole that with often beating of the Seas, the ioyntes that knitte the worck together began to lose and leue their hold. Then the water that washed through, brake downe the Mole in the myddes, so that the heapes of stones which were before sustayned by the timbre and earth calle betwixt them once broken asonder, the hole worcke fell to ruyn and was carried away into the deape sea. By that time Alexander was returned out of Arabie, and sodenly found nyne thousande of them that any suche worcke had bene. In that case (as it is euer vsed in thynges that chaunce ill) one layde the faulte vpon an other, when indede the violence of the sea was the cause of al. Alexã-

der

der begā to make the Pere againe after a newe sorte, so that it ran with the fore front into the wind and not with the open side as before. The fore front alwaies defending the reste of the worke lieng behind, which he made of suche bredth, because the Toweres might be builded in the middes to be the further of from the shott. Hole trees were put into the Sea with all ther braunches, and after great stones throwen vpon them. And ouer those a newe course of trees and stones againe, by which deuice this hole worke was ioyned, & knit all in one. As the Macedons were busie to bring ther worcke forwardes, so the Tyrians were as diligent to inuent all such thinges as might giue impediment to their proceding. Their cheefe practise was for a nombre of them to go vnder water a farre of out of the macedones sight, and so come diuing vnder the water till they came vnto the Pere, wher with hokes they would pull vnto them the braunches of the trees that apered out of the stones, wherby the stones and thother substeunce folowed after into the depe. For the trees being discharged of ther burden were esely drawen awaie, and then the foundacion failing, the hole worcke that stated vpon the trees fell to ruyne. Amongs thes impedimentes Alexander stode in great perplexitie of mynde doutinge whither he should continewe the siege still, or els deperte his waye. When he was in this imaginacion sodenly his nauie arriued from Cipres, and Cleander also with such souldiers as he had brought out of Greace and hauing to the nombre of .c.lxxx. shippes, deuided them into two batailes, wherof he committed thone vnto Pitagoras ý kinge of Cipres, and to Craterus, and toke charge of theother him selfe taking for his owne persone a Galey.

A newe pere made after anoyer sorte.

Pytagoras kyng of Cipres.

ley called Cinqzreme, which had fiue oers in a bancke. The Tirias durst not aduẽture the sea high although they had a great nauy but set al there galies in a front before the walles of ther Citie which the king assailed and put to distresse The next daye the Macedons with ther shippes enuironed the Citie round about, and did beate downe the walles, spetially with such engynes as they call Arietes. But the Tirians straycht waye renforced and made vp ther walles againe with stões that late at hande and raised vp an inward wale rounde aboute within the Citie, which might be there defence if the other failed. But their destruction approched on euerie side, the Mole was wrought with in caste of darte, and the shippes gaue the approche round about the walles, so that they were ouer laide both by Sea and by land. The Macedones had deuised to ioyne ther gallayes two and two togither in such sorte that the forepartes met close before, and the hinderpartes lay farre of one from the other. And ouer the spaces that remayne betwixt puppe and puppe they made bridges with maste and many yardes laied betwixt Galey and galey, and faste bounde together to carie souldiers vpon, when they had put ther galeis in this ordre they set forwardes towardes the Cytie. And hauinge rampared the prores for defence of the souldiers that were behind They stode in the Galies and did shoote and cast dartes against ther enemies without any perill or daunger to themselues. It was mid-
A Tempest night whe they had commaundement to set forwards after this maner. As the shippes were approching on all partes, and the Tyrians stode astonied for feare & desperation, Sodẽly the skie was ouerwhelmed with dimeine clowdes, & a sodeine darkenes toke away the light. Then the sea by litell & litell waxed terrible and roughe, the wynd blewe and rayled vp the waues, &

Arietes.

beate the shippes one againste an other. the violences wherof burst a sonder the bandes and graspers wherwith ỹ galies were fastened togethers. which doun the bridges crashed and flewe asonder. and with the souldiers that stoode vpon them fell into the Sea. Ther was great confusion for the shippes entangled thus togither could by no means be gouerned in such a tempest. the souldiers disturbing the feate of the mariners. and the mariners giuinge impediment to the office of the Souldiers. Thus as it doth often happē in such a case. the expert were obedient to the ignorant for the shippe masters that were wont to commaunde then for feare of death were dereeted by other. But at length by force of rowing. the galeis recouered the shore the more parte of them being broken and torne. It chaunsed at the same time. xxx. Embassadores to come from Cartage to Tyre. who gaue more comfort then assistance to them that were besieged. For they shewed howe the Carthaginens were so assailed with warre at thes owne dores. that they could by no meanes send them succore. In somuche as the Saracusans were burning in Afrike. and had encāped them selues vnder the verie walles of Cartage. The Tirians yet were not discomfite. for al that they were disapointed of thet speciall truste. but deliuered vnto those Embassadours their wyues and their children to carie vnto Cartage. thinking to endure more stowtly the siege. if the thinges which were moste deare vnto them were remoued out of daunger. Ther was a Tirian which in an open assemble declared that Apollo (whom the Tyrians gretlly do worshyppe) had appered to him in his slepe. semyng to him that he had forsaken the Cytie and trauisformed the mole that the Macedons had made. into a grate woode. Hereupon

Saracusis

though

though the autter were of small credite. yet forasmuch as men in feare be apte to beleue the worste. they tied faste Apolloes Image with a golden chene. and they bound faste also the aulter of Hercules (to whom the Cytie was dedicate) thinking that by deteaning of thone. to keape still the other. The Cartagēs in times paste had brought that Image from Siracuse and had plased yt in the hed Cytie out of the which they were descēded. For their custome was to adorne dyte with such spoiles as they had taken. no les then they did Cartage. They at ỳ time wold also haue bene auctores vnto the Tiryans for the renuieng of an old sacrifice that had bene omitted many yeares. wherin they vsed to offre vp to Saturne a fre borne childe. which beig rather a sacriledge then a sacrifice. of the Cartagens receyued of there fyrste founders. and still obserued the same. till ther citie was destroyed. And but that the auncient men by whom al thinges was gouerned had withstand yt. this wicked superstiton had taken place. which nature and humaintie doth abhorre. The necessitie that was hanging ouer there heades being more effectuall then ame arte or science. practised not onlye suche thinges as were accustomed for defences. but also found one that was neuer enuented before. For to the desturbours of the shippes that approched the wales. they deuised longe rafters to the which the fastened grasples of Iron and great hokes like sithes which letten downe with ropes by an engyue. ether tare the shippes or destroyed the men. They inuented also Targettes of metall to be made fire hote. in the which they put burning sand. & scalding lyme. and thē poured the same down vpon the Macedones that cam nere the walles. which was a mischief that they feared

most

moste of all other. For when the hote sande entered betwene the harnes & the body, there was no meanes to auoyde it away: and where it touched it burned to the bones. so that they were enforced to throwe away their harnes. and teare away all thynges they had vpon their bodies. Whereby they became subiecte to be hurte by their enemies, and were not in case to endomage them againe. But specially the grasples letten downe (whiche be called crowes) tooke violently away many of the souldiers that were within the thyppes. Alexander seyng their obstinate defence was wery of the matter and determined to rayse vp his siege, and go vnto Egypt. For consideryng in howe shorte a space he had ouercome Asia. it greued hym to be detayned so long about the walles of that Cytie, whereby he omitted the occasion and opportunitie of greater thynges in the meane season. But he was asmuche ashamed to departe without his purpose. as to remayne there and leue other thynges vndone: iudgyng that if he should leue Tyre after that sorte. as a wytnes that he myght be withstãded. it should much impaire his fame. wherewith he had gotten more then with force. And it chaunced at the same tyme a monster of an exceedyng bygnes to appere aswell in the syght of the Tyrians as the Macedons. whiche lyeng vpon his back aboue the water came towardes the mole. and when he had beaten the water and lyfted vp hymselfe at the head of the mole. diued vnder the water agayne. sometyme appearyng aboue and sometyme vnderneath. and when he came nere the walles of the Cytie vanyshed out of syght. The appearyng of this monster reioyced bothe parties. The Macedons dyd enterpret the same to be sent to them as a guide to leade them away to furnishe

out the worcke. The Tyrians deuined that Neptune reuenging the vsurpacion that the Macedons had made vpon the sea, would shortely destroy the worcke that they had made. In lyke sorte as he had taken away the monster. and vpon their owne imaginacion had conceiued suche a gladnes. and pronosticated to them selues suche good fortune. that they fel to banequeting and drinkyng. And when they were well charged with wine at the sonne rising thei set garlandes of flowers vpon their heades, and mounted into their galleis. not only with hope of victory but with a triumphe made beforehand. It chaunsed at the same time that Alexander had conueyed his nauy to the contrary syde of the Cytie. and lefte vpon the shore. xxx. of the smallest vessels. of the whiche the Tyrians caught two. and put the rest in great feare of distressing. vntyll suche tyme as the kynge hearyng the alarome. sette forwardes with his nauy towardes that parte where the skrye was heard. The firste Galley of the Macedons that came nere them was a quinquereme moste swyfte amonges all the reste. whiche when the Tirians espied. they came against her with two gallies ouerwhart vpon her side: wherof the one stroke full with her spurne. and the cinquereme grasped with her. but the other whiche was lose and at libertie fell on the contrary syde. but lefte betwixt them two she myght haue sustained some domage. there came a tryreme of Alexanders to the rescue with suche violence that the maister of the lose galley was striken into the sea. But when the Tirians sawe Alexander was come himselfe and more of his shyppes were at hande. then with strength of oers and great difficultie they set their galley that was entangled lose againe and at libertie. and made towardes

their

their hauen with all the haste they myght make. Alexander immediatly pursued. but when he came to the hauē he could not enter. but was beaten of with shot from the walles. but that not withstandyng the more parte of their galleis were eyther drowned or taken. After this aduenture he rested his souldiers two dayes. and then willed his shyppes to be brought forwardes. and the engines in them. to the intent that by assaylyng the Tirians on all sydes. he might put them in extreme feare. Alexander with a wonderfull courage not without great parill vnto his persone. mounted vp into the toppe of a tower that was made in a shyppe. and there knowen by his apparell and eythe armoure was chiefly layde at. and shot to from all partes. He wrought wonderfull feates with his owne persone. for bothe with his pike he slewe diuers that stode at defence. and afterwardes also fought hande to hande with hys swoorde and his target. and threwe diuers downe from their defence. for the towre wherein he fought ioyned hard to the walles. By that time the Engines called Aristes with muche beatyng had striken downe the walles. the naule was got within the hauen. and certayne of the Macedons had wonne the towres. and dryuen the Tirians from them. Oppressed them with the multitude of these myseries they were cleane discomfited. some fled for succour vnto the temples. some did shut their doores takyng that kynde of death they lyked beste. And other ran vpon their enemies to sell their liues dere. But ỹ more parte got vp into ỹ toppes of their houses. and frō thence did cast down vpō their enemies. whatsoeuer came vnto their handes. Alexandō cōmaūded al to be slayne with exceptiō sauing such as fled into the temples. and the houses to be set on fyer.

The winning of Tire.

Though that was proclaymed through out the Cytie: yet there was none bearyng armour that woulde saue themselues that way. For as the women and chyldren filled the temples, so the men kept the entrees of their houses redie to abyde the crueltie of their enemies, yet the Sydonians were the cause that many were saued who amonges the Macedons seruyng in the warres. and entring the Cytie amonges the reste, were myndfull of their affinitie with the Tirians (Agenour being builder of both their Cyties) and conueyed many into their shippes whiche they sent priuely vnto Sydone: By whiche meanes fiftene thousand escaped the crueltie of the swoorde. The nombre of them that were slain may partely be coniectured, in that there were founde dead within the Cytie syx thousand of them that bare armour. The kynges wrath towardes the Cytie made the syght dolerous vnto the victors. For twoo thousand whome the furye of the slaughter had lefte on lyue, were afterwardes hanged vpon crosses along the sea coaste. The Embassadours of the Cartagens were saued, but he threatened to make warre against them, from the whiche he was then letted by other busines he had in hand. Thus Tyre was taken the. vii. moneth after it was besieged. a Cytie notable to the posteritie, aswell through the antiquitie it was of, as also by the often chaunge of fortune that it had suffred. It was buylded by Agenour and many yeares was maister of the seas, not only nere thereabout but in all places where as their nauies came. And if we lyste to credite the fame, that Cytie was the firste whiche either taught or learned letters. They buylded Cyties and put in them inhabiters through out the more partes of the worlde, bothe Carthago

Agenour.

A notable reuenging of the breache of the lawe of armes.

in

in Affrick. Thebes in boecia. and Gades in Hyspayne vpon the Occian. It is to be thought that by reason of their fre recourse throught al seas. and by visiting of many straunge coūtries they had occasion to chose out Seates to place in ther youthe. wherof they then habounded Or els as some write the Inhabitores were ried to dwell their by reason of many earthequakes. were compelled of force to seke out straunge dwelling places. But after manie casualties that happened vnto Tyre after the destrucion newely renued. and all thinges grown againe through long peace. remaineth nowe vnder the defence of the romaines Clemency. About the same tyme Alexāder receyued letters from Darius. wherein at laste he was contented to name him king. His requeste was that Alexander wouldbe receiue his doughter Saptyne for his wife with who he offred in dowre all the countrey between Hellespont and the Riuer of Alys. and would receiue vnto him selfe onlye suche kyngdomes. as lay from thence towardes theaste. And if peraduenture he should make any doubt to receyue this offre. he willed him to consider that foxtune is not wont to continewe longe in one estate. and that the greater felicitie men haue. the greater enuie doth folowe them. It was to be dowted (he saied) leste he exalted him selfe through a vaine & a childishe affection like as bydes vse to do whose naturall lightnes conuey them to the starres. For ther was nothing more difficuley in so ponge yeares. then to beare well such heigh and greatnes of foxtune. He willed him also to consider that there remaynede yet meane countries that he had not touched. and that he should not alwaies mete him in streightes. Hauing to passe the Riuer of Euphrates. Tygre. Araxes and

The contentes of Darius letters.

Hydaspes. which were like bulwarks vnto his dominiõ. & when that he shuld come vnto the playnes. he should be ashamed of his smalle nombre. He put him in remẽbraunce to waye howe longe it should be or he coulde passe Media. Hircania. Bactria. and the Indians. that bordered on the Occian Sea. And likewyse the Sogdians and Arachosians of whome men haue no other knowledge then of their name. with other nacions lieng towardes the mount Caucasus. and the Ryuer of Tanays. Though no man should lette hym. nor offer hym battaille. yet he should growe in age (he saied) before he coulde passe so many landes. In the latter ende he aduysed hym to call hym no more forewardes. for he would come sone enough and that to his destruction. Alexander made aunswer to those letters by the messengers that brought them in effect that Darius offred to hym that was none of his owne. and made a proffer to geue that he had all loste. For Lidia. Ionia. Acolides. and the coste of the Hellespont. whiche he appointed in dowre. were alredy become the rewardes of his victory. And as for lawes and condicions those were wonte to be geuen and appoynted by the victors. and receyued of suche as were ouercome. And if he were ignoraunt in whiche of those two estates he were in. he should come of and aduenture the battaille once agayne. For he was not ignoraunt (he sayed) before he passed the Sea howe Lidia. and Cilicia. were ouer smale rewardes. for the making of suche a warre. But his determinacion was euer to subdue and bring vnder his dominion. both Persepolis the chief Citie of his kyngdome. and also Bactria. and Echatania. with the vttermoste boundes of the Orient. He could fle no

The effect of Darius answere.

where but he was able to folowe. and therefore counsailed him that he ſhould leue to feare him with ryuers which had learned how to paſſe ſeas. Thus the kinges did write one to another: & in the meane ſeaſon ỹ Rhodians yelded their cytie and their hauen vnto Alexander. who cõmitted the rule of Cilicia vnto Socrates. and the coũtrey about Tyre vnto Philotas. And Parmenio made Andromachus his deputie in Celi Syria. For from thence they had to ſet forwardes to the reſte of their iourney. Alexander gaue commaundement to Epheſtion that he ſhould fetche about with his naue ỹ coaſte of Phenices. and came with his hole power to ỹ cytie of Gaza. Abont the ſame time there were ſolẽne triumphes and plaies at Iſthmos. accuſtomed to be celebrated with the aſſemblie of all Greece. In that counſell as ỹ wittes of ỹ Grekes be ſodain decreed to ſend xii. Embaſſadours vnto Alexander to cary him a croun of gold in gratefieg the victory he had won & the actes he had done for the ſaulfegard & libertie of Greece. but a little before they harkened how the fame went & were redy to bend that way that fortune enclined. Alexander viſited not in perſone all ſuche countreis and cyties as refuſed their obedience vnto him. but made conqueſt of them by his deputies. For Calas toke Paphlagonia, Antigonus Licaonia. and Balacrus ouercame Idarne. Darius lieutenaunt and wan Miletum. Amphitorus and Egilochus with a naue of hundred and .lx. ſhyppes ſubdued all the Ilandes betwene Aſia and Achaia. And alſo by the conſent of the inhabiters got Tenedon whiche alwaies was a receptacle to the Perſians. They were at the point to haue gotten Scio. but that Pharnabalus Darius deputie hauing intelligence of the matter. did kyrſte apprehende all ſuche

Rhodians.

Celi Syria

Olimpiades

Tenedon.

as were of the Macedons faction. and committed the cytie with a small guarrison to Appollodines and Athenagoras that were enclined to the Persians. Alexanders captaines for al this continued the siege of the cytie still not so muche in truste of their own strength as they did in hope of the faccion they had within the cittie. In whiche point they were not deceiued. for through a sedicion whiche did aryse betwene Apollodines and the captaines of the men of warre. occasion was ministred vnto the Macedons to breake into the Cytie. When the gate was broken vp. and a band of Macedons entred. then the cytesens whiche before had deuised to rebell against the Persians. toke parte with Amphiterus and Eglochus. so that the guarrison of the Persians were slaine. and Pharnabasus with Apolloindes and Anathogoras were take prisoners. There were. xii. galies take with their souldiers and rowers. besides. xxx. shippes and vessels of Pirates. with thre thousand Grekes that were in wages with the Persians. with the Grekes they furnyshed vp their owne bandes and put the pyrates to death bestowyng the rowers in their owne galeis. It chaunsed that Aristonicus the vsurper of Methina ignorant of any suche matter as was chaunsed. in the first parte of the night came with certayn piraters shippes to enter into the hauen. whome when the watche demaunded what he was. he sayd: he was Aristonicus. and came to the succour of Pharnabasus. they said he was at reste & could not then be spoken with all. but it should be lawfull for hym beyng their frende to enter into the haue for that night and speake with hym when it was day. Aristonicus was the first that entred. and the pirates folowed him. But whiles they placed their shyppes. the watchemen

Scio taken

Aristonicus

men drewe the chayne againe ouer the hauen and then called vp suche as lay there nere about. so that none of them durst resist but were al taken prisoners and so deliuered to Amphiterus and Eglocus. From thence the Macedons passed to Mytelene whiche was kept by Chares of Athens with a guarison of two thousand Persiãs: but when he was not able to endure ỹ siege. he yelded vp the Cytie with composicion to haue their liues saued and to departe in sauegarde vnto Imbros. Mytelene. Imbros.

Darius dispairing of peace, which he had procured both by his lettres and Embassadours, gaue his mynd to assemble a new power and freshely to renue the warre. Therfore he commaunded the Capitaines and rulers of his men to assemble at Babilon, and that Bessus gouernour of the Bactrians, should come thether with al the power he could make. The Bactrians be the moste hardie people amõges those nations, vnciuill men, and much abhorring from the delicatnes of the Persians: for by reason ỹ they border vpõ the Scythians whiche be a warlicke people, they are accustomed to lyue by theyfte, and be conuersant continually in armes. But Bessus that was suspect of treason that he would not be content with the second place, put Darius in great doubte. Who hauing an inckling that he compassed to be kyng feared only his treason, hauyng no other way to bryng his purpose to passe. Alexander wrought all the wayes he could obtayne to knowledge where Darius was become, and into what coũtrey he was gone. And yet could not get any intelligence by reason of a custome amonges the Persians whiche are wont with a maruelous fidelitie to kepe close their princes secretes: in the vtteryng wherof neither feare of death, nor hope of reward can cause them bryng forth a worde. Bactrians

This was a goodly discipline that the kinges ther had of olde time vsed emõges their subiectes in ponishing with losse of lief, the lawelnes of the tounge, which is there more greuously chastysed then any other cryme. The lawelnes of the tounge ponyshed with the percias

Nor ther is not in those partes any goodnes loked for at any mans handes that hath not the gifte of secretnes, wherof nature hath giuen a facilitye in mã. Thys was the cause that Alexander was ingnorant of all thinges that his enemies did, and therefore continued his siege before Gaza. Beties was Captayne there who was a man of a notable fidelitie towardes hys prince, which with a small guarison defended the Cytie that was of a large compasse. Wherfore Alexander perceyuing the aduauntage of the Scituacion set maney mynes in hande. For the lightnes of the ground made ỹ worcke easye hauinge nether rockes nor stones to gyue any impediment. They began their mines on that side, wher thei within could not desiroy them. And to auoyde the suspcion of any such worck in hande, caused an aproche to be made to the wales wyth Towres that he had made of Tymbre. But the ground woulde not serue for their carieng and remouing, by reason of the losenes of the sande whereinto the wheles sonk, and was cause that the ioyntes of the towres bracke a sonder. About the conuoyans of them many were hurte and as muche truble they had in wythdrawinge of them as in setting them forwardes. When he perceyued he could not preuail by that meanes he retired againe his mẽ for that time. But the next daye he enuironed the Citie round about to gyue thassaulte in euerye parte at ones and before he remoued out of his campte, made sacrifice after his The Siege of Gaza.

countrey

contrey manet. requiring the aide of the goddes. It chaunsed as he was so doing. that a Rauen flieng by let falle a clodde. which she caried in hir clawes vpon the kinges Hede. where it brake & resolued in peces. And the rauen flewe vnto the next towre. wher hir fethers were so entangled with Piche that she lighted vpon. that she coulde not flee away. but was taken of the standers therabouts. This was thought a matter worthye whereupon the deuyners should consulte. for he him selfe was not free from the superstition of such thynges. Therefore Aristander to whom he gaue moste credite. did interprete the same to be a signe of the distruction of that Cytie. but yet there was some parill apearing towardes the kynges person. For which cause he perswaded Alexander that he shoulde not go about any enterpryse that daye. Whyche. though it greued hym muche that one Cytie shoulde be a staye and impedient vnto hym for hys free passage into Egipt. yet he obeied the pronosticator & caused all his men to returne. Thennemies toke courage of their departure. and thinkinge leate to haue bene the cause whie they came not forwardes. sayled out of the Cytie and set vpon their tayle. But they were more fierse in the beginnyng of the skyrmishe. then constante in maintaining of the same. For when they sawe the Macedons turne about. they stayed and pursued no further. Alexander hering the larume and remembryng nothing the parill that was prophesied vnto hym. at hys frendes requeste put on hys harnys which he was seldom accustumed to do. & resorted thether where the skyrmishe was moste hote. There he was knowne by a certayne Arabiane that was one

of

of Darius ſouldiers which toke vpon him a deſperate
entterpryſe of the ſleaynge of Alexander and therfore
makyng his pretence to haue bene fugitiue from the
Perſians. keapt his ſword ſecret vnder nethe his tar-
gat. and fell downe on his knees before him . Who
iudgyng that he had fled to him for ſocore willed him
to be receyued amonges his owne men. But thatrabian
therwithall ſtracke at the kinge wyth his ſword. which
he by little ſteppinge aſide auoyded it from his throte
and cutte of the Arabians hand that miſſed of hys
ſtrocke Alexander then iudged that he had cleane eſ-
caped the perill that ſhould haue chaunſed to him that
daie. but (as I thincke) deſteyn cannot be auoyded:
for whiles he was egre to fight amongss the formoſte
he was ſtriken with an arrowe wich paſſed throughe
his Corſelet and did ſticke in his ſhoulder . Philip his
Philiciō did plucke it out. and great haboundaunce of
blood did folowe. wherof euery man was afraied. in
ſo much as they neuer ſawe an arrowe paſſe ſo farre
through any Armore before . But he neuer chaunged
countenance nor coullor. but cauſinge the blood to be
ſtanched and his wound to be wrapt vp continued ſtil
in the ſkyrmiſhe amonges the formoſte. either ſuf-
fering or diſſimuling his paine and dolore but when the
bloode that was ſtaied for the tyme haſte out againe .
And the wound whiche for the greuous greued hym
not muche begaune to ſwell and rancle as the bloode
waxed coulde then he began to faynt and fall downe
and was taken vp by ſuche as were nere hym. and ca-
ried into his tent . Betis that yet reyned thys. ſuppo-
ſyng him to be ſlaine returned vnto the Citie againe
with great ioye and triumphe. But Alexāders wound
being yet vnhealed he cauſed a mounte to be caſte vp

as

as highe as the toppe of the walles. and the walles to be cast downe in diuers places by the Myners. But they within made a countermure as highe as the olde wall. but that coulde not stretche to the heyghte of the towres made vpon the Mounte. so that the inner partes of the citte were subiecte to shotte. But a mine wherby the walle was ouerthrown and a breach made wherby the Macedones did enter was the vtter losse of the towne wher as Alexander prelling on amōges the foremoste aduenterously. had his legge hurte with a stone. Whiche notwithstanding he mounted vp by help of his weapon (his former wound yet vncloſed) and fought emonges the foremoſt being in a great furie that in the siege of that one Citie he had receyued two wounds. Betis that had fought notably and receyued many woundes was forsaken of his owne men yet not withstanding he mainteyned still the fight. and had all his Armour embrued with his owne blood and his enemies. But when he was encloſed round about. the Alexander which was wount to wonder at the vertue of his enemies puffed vp with a ioyful pride saide vnto him: Betis thou shalt not die as thou wouldeſt thy selfe but whatsoeuer tormētes may be inuented. think that thou shalt suffre them. For all his wordes ther apeared in Betis no token of feare but beheld the king with an arrogant countenance. and would not answere him one worde. Then Alexander saide se you not howe obstynat he is to hold his peace. he would not knele. nor ones desire mercye. But I will breke his silence with groning if nothing els can do it. Thus his fortune alteringe hys nature chaunged hym into straunge maners. and turned his wrath into wodnes. For causing cordes to be putte throughe Betys feate whyles

The winning of Gaza.

The deeds of Betys

whyles he was a lyue did drawe hym about the Cytye with horses glorieng in that he did counterfiet Achilles (of whom he was descended) in affyetyng of his enymye. There were slaine of the Persians and Arabies ten thousand. and the victorye was not vnblodye vnto the Macedones. This siege was not so famous by the Nobylitie of the Cytie as it was by ꝑ double daungier the kynge was in. Whiche makynge haste to passe into Egypt sent Amyntas wyth ten Galies into Macedonia to leuie more souldiers. For though he were alwayes victorer in prosperous battayles, yet hys men were deminished. and he trusted not so muche to the souldiers of those contries he had subdued. as he did to his own nacion. Egyptians be a nacion that al-

Egipcyans. waies were offended with thencrese and good fortune of the Persians. who in there gouerment ouer them vsed muche pryde and couetousnes. And therefore sekinge all occasions to reuolt. had receyued Amyntas whiche came to them rather by way of treaty then by any force, but nowe specially at Alexanders comming plucked vp ther sprightes and assembled a great nombre to mete hym at Pelusiū where they iudged he

Alexander entred into Egipte. woulde enter. The .vii. daye he remoued from Gaza and came to that place in Egipte which nowe is called Alexanders campe. from whence he sent hys Armye vnto pelluzium by the land way and he him self with a choise band of mē was conueyed thether vpon the Riuer of Nile. The Persians durste not abide his comming being in doubt that the Egiptiās would reuolt.

Memphys. And therfore whē Alexander drewe nere vnto Memphis where Astaces Darius lieutennant was wyth a powre of men of warre. he came ouer the Ryuer to mete Alexander. and yealdinge hym selfe delyuered

hym

hym .viii. C. talentes with all the Riches belonging to the kynge of Perse. From Memphis he passed vpon the same Ryuer vnto the inwarde partes of Egypt. and set a state and order of the gouernement of the countrey in suche sorte that he chaunged nothing of theyr lawes and customes. Which thing ones brought to passe. he had a great desire to visite the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon. But it was declared vnto him that the waye he had to go was not passable wyth anye great nombre and those ought to be light and trimmed mete to iourney without bagage or much cariage. The countrey he had to trauaill throughe was sayde to be spread ouer all wyth bareyn sande. which ones put in an heate wyth the Sonne would burne there feate in suche sorte that it should be intollerable for them to iourney. And had to contend not only wyth the heate and want of water. but also wyth the rolynge sande. whych was so deape. and would so sink vnder there feet that it should be great empediment vnto ther trauaile. All whiche difficulties the Egiptians set forth to be greater then they were indede. But Alexander for the desire he had to excede mans estate was so feruently bent to visite that famous Oracle of Jupiter. whome ether he beleued. or coueted that other should beleue to be his father. that nothing could staye him in performinge of that enterpise. Therefore with such as he had apointed. to accompany him in that iourney passed by water vpon Nile til he came to the Meare of Mestes. The Embassadours of ỳ Cyrenias came to him thither & brought him ꝑsentes. whō he iently entertained. assuring thē of his frendlhip. And ỳ done went forwards in his voyage. The firste & the second daies traueil seamed tollerable. not beig yet come toỳ barein

The Cyrenians.

and

and wild wildernes. and yet the ground they palled on was but vnfrutefull and dead erth. But when the plaens apeared that were couered ouer wyth deape ſand. they then loked and ſought a farre of wyth their eyes for the land. eue̅ as men be accuſtomed to do whē they ſaill in the mayne Sea. For they could not iudge them ſelues on lande. where they neuer ſawe tree nor any apearance of habitacion or haunt of men. And water ther was none to be found in that drie and burnig ſand and ſuch as they had brought with them in bottels vpon camelles backes was conſumed and ſpent. Beſides the ſonne was ſo hote that it dried and burned vp all thinges. When they were afflicted after this maner. whither yt were by the wil of god or by chaūce the clowdes ſodenly ouerwelmed the ſkye. and ſo ſhadowed them that it was greate cōfort to ſuche as were forweried with the heat. thoughe they wanted water to drinck. But to ſupplie ther lacke therin ther fell by and by a greate ſhoure which euery man (for the greate deſire they had to drincke) gaped to receyue with open mouth. When they had traueled foure dayes in pallig of theſe wild deſertes and were come nere vnto the place of the Oracle. there apeared a great ſwarme of Crowes flieng lowe before the troupe. and when the hoſte merched ſoftely they ſat downe vpon the groūd and ſometime flewe forwardes. as they had bene guides the ſhewe vnto tharmye the way. At length they came vnto the place conſecrate vnto Jupiter. where as it was a wonder to ſe in the mides of ſo wyld a deſert ſuch a groūd ſo enuironed on al partes with high trees defending the heat of the ſame. & ſuch a nombre of ſpringes ronyng euery where. which cauſe the woodes alwaies to loke greane. The ayer there al ſeaſons

The deſtrucion of Hamon.

of

of the yeare is like vnto the spring tyme holsom and temperat to liue in. This countrey doth border with the Ethiops towardes the East and vpon the arabites that they cal Troglodites vpō the southe. Whole contrey stretche to the Red sea vpon the west it confineth with other Ethiops that be called Asymenos vpon the the north by a Nacio called Nasamos. who inhabiting vpon a flat shore be accustumed to liue on spoiles of the sea. and lye alwaies in a wayt vpon the coste to spoyle such ships as suffre wracke. the people which inhabite about the wood be called Hamunios dwel in couages scatered abrode. The middes of there wood ryded about with a treable walle is vnto them as a Castle. In the fyrste warde is the Palace of there auncient kinges in the second their wyues children, and concubines were lodged in which place the Oracle of Iupiter is also. And the laste is a place apointed for the men of warre. Ther is also an other wood where in ye middes hath a spring called the fountaine of the sunne which at the rising is like warme in ye heat of the day it is coolde. in the euenynge warmeth againe. so that at mydnight it is scalding hote and as it drawyth towardes daie it dimynisheth his heate more and more. The same thing that is worshipped for Iupiter hath not the symilitude of other Images that craftes men do make for goddes but is very like vnto the fashiō of a nauell hauing in the middes a Emeraude set about with perles. Whē any answer is required the priestes cary the same in a ship of gold that hath many plates of siluer hanging on both sides. The Matrones the virgines followe after singinge a rude songe after their countrey maner whereby they beleue to obtayne of Iupiter to their vowes Oracle manifeste and true. When Alexander was come vnto the place. the eldeste of the

Ethiops.

The defesticon of the Idolle.

Priestes met him and called him sonne. affirming that Iupiter his father had geuen hym that name. and he forgetting the state of his mortalitie, said: that he bothe did receyue and acknowledge the same. Then he demaunded further if the empire of the hole worlde were apointed to hym by destiny. Whereupon the prophet prepared before to flattery aunswered: that the hole worlde should come vnder his obeysaunce. After that he demaunded whether al had suffred death that murthered his father. The priest answered that his father could not be harmed by the treason of any man. but he said: that all Philippes killers were put to death. & one thing he added more. ỹ he should be inuincible til suche time as he should departe to the gods. Thereupon Alexander made sacrifice. & both offred vnto Iupiter & gaue great giftes vnto the priestes. He licensed also his frendes that they might cõsult with the oracle for suche thinges as they would demaũde. but they enquired no further. but if it were Iupiter his wil ỹ they should worshyp their king with deuine honours. To them it was aunswered: that if they honoured their prince being victozer as a god. it should be acceptable vnto Iupiter. If he had with iudgement wayed the oracle according to the veritie. he should well haue perceiued the vntruthe that was therein: but whome fortune hath brought to beleue in her. she make thẽ many times more desirous of glory. then able to receiue it. Alexander not only suffred but also cõmaunded himself to be called the sonne of Iupiter. & whiles he wẽt about to encrease the fame of his actes. he did corrupt and deface them through suche vayne titles. Whereby the Macedons accustomed to be gouerned by kinges. but yet reseruig a greater shadowe of libertie then other nacions. did with out hym

The flattery of the prophettes.

A digression.

hym more arrogantly in affectyng of hys immortalytie
then was eyther expedyent for hym or them. But thes
thynges shalbe declared in tyme conuenient. Nowe I
will procede in the rehersall of his doynges. Whan Alex-
ander was returned from Hamon and come to the ma-
rishe of Marcotes lienyng nere vnto the Ile of Pha-
ros, he vewed the nature of the place, & was at the tyme
determined to build a Cite within the Iland. But af-
ter he vewed circumcyring the Ile not to be large enough
chose out the ground where Alexandria is nowe (called
by the name of the builder) containyng all that ground
betwene the Mere and the sea, the which was in cōpas
as the walles went, xxx. furlonges. Whan he had take
order for buildyng of this Cite, leuing such byrnd him
as he had apointed for the perfourmyng therof, departed
vnto Memphis. He had a desire (not vnreasonable if it
had ben in tyme conuenient) to haue vysited both the in-
ward partes of Egipt, & also Ethiopia. And of affection
he had to vewe auntiquities & the famous palaces of
Memnon and Tyron, had nere drawn him beyond the
bowndes of the londe. But the warres he had in hande
beyng of much more moment then any such idle peregri-
nacion, gaue him no time to fulfill his fantasie. And
therfore apointed Aeschylus a Rodyan, and Peuceste
a Macedon the gouernours of Egipt. And assignyng to
the .iii. thousand souldiers for defence of y Region gaue
Toloma .xxx. galles to kepe the mouthe of Nile. He
made Polemus ruler of that parte of Affrik which ioy-
neth vnto Egipt and Cleomenes receyuer of the Tri-
butes in both Contreis. This newe Cytie was sone
replenished with a great multitude, for commaundy-
ment was gyuen to all the Cyties therabowtes to send
inhabitetes vnto Alexandrey. It is saide that when the
kynge accordinge to the Macedones custume vsede

The buil-
ding of Alex-
andria.

Memnon
Tyron.

Aeschylus
Peuceste.

Cleomenes.

the kyng according to the Macedons custome vsed the ceremony of steping barley at ꝑ making of the walles. that the birdes came & fed therupon which being take of many for an vnlucky token: it was answered by their deuiners ꝑ ther shuld be great resort of straungers to that cite, & that it should giue nourishement to many landes. As the kyng went down ꝑ riuer of Nile Hector Parmenio his sone desirous to folowe him was drowned. For the vessel sonke ꝑ caried him. being pestred in ouer many mē. He stryued log with the streame but his garmentes gaue impediment to his swimming, so that his breath was nere gone before he could recouer the banke. wherfore want of succour he died. Whose vnfortunate chaūce Alexāder toke greuously as one ꝑ did beare him speciall fauour, & therfore caused his body to be honorably buried. The death of Andromachus lieutenaunt of Syria. whō the Samaritās had burned was encreasse of Alexāders sorow for ꝑ reuengemēt wherof he made al the halte he might. & at his cōming into Samaria, had the auctours of the acte deliuered into his handes, whom he put to death, & then placed Nemnō in Andromachus rowme. He deliuered into ꝑ Methinias handes Aristonicus, & Cresolaus, that had blusped amongest them, whō they after many greuous tormētes did hāg ouer their walles. That done he gaue audience to the Embassadours of the Athenians the Rodians & the Sciotis. The Athenians did gratefie vnto hym his victory and required that such Grekes as were takē prisoners might be restored to libertie. The Rodiās and the Sciotes demaunded assistaunce of some guarrison: he graunted to them all their requestes and restoryng to the Mytelens their pledges, encreased their territorie and dominion in respecte of the fidelitie

The Ryuer of Nyle.

The death of Hector Parmenios sonne.

Andromachus burnid by the Samaritans.

Methinians

litle they shewed vnto hym. and the money that they employed in the warres. He gaue honour also according to their deseruinges vnto he kynges of Cipres whiche reuolted from Darius vnto him and had aided him with shippes at the siege of Tyre. Amphoterus his admiral had cõmission to driue the Persians out of the Isle Crete but specially that he should rydde the seas of the pirates. whiche troubled and spoiled all the Ilades. whiles these two princes conuerted their powers one against another. When he had geuen order to all these thinges he did dedicate to Hercules at Tyre a greate standing pece and .xxx. bowles of gold. That done he set his hole mynde and care vpon Darius. cauling it to be proclaimed that euery man should set forwardes towardes Euphrates. But Darius vnderstanding that his enemy was gone through Egipt into Affrick. stode in doubte whether he should stay about Mesopotania. or withdrawe into the inward partes of his kyngdome. iudging that he should be hable to worcke with those farre nacions in bringing of them forwardes to the warres. that his lieftenaunt should not be able to doe. yet when the fame had published and he vnderstode by assured aduertisement that Alexander was retourned out of Egipt. and fully resolued to folowe him with all his power into what countrey soeuer he should go: he then gaue order that the force of all the farre nations should drawe towardes Babilõ. knowing the stoutnes of his enemy he had to match withal. Thither resorted both Bactrians. Scythians and Indians. for the power of other countreys were come thether before. And hauing the double nombre of men that he had before in Cilicia. prepared much armoure for them with diligẽce. wherof many of them had want. Both the horsemen

Alexanders Darius prepared to fight another battel.

and the horses were armed with plates of stele. And such as before had no weapõs but dartes had swordes and bucklers geuen to them more. And to encreasle the power of his horsemẽ deliuered many horses to be broken amõges the footemen. He had prepared also. C. C. wagons set with hokes, whiche in those countreys were estemed thynges of great force and iudged to be a wõderfull terrour to the ennemie: they were made with greate lõg pykes stykyng out before, and with swordes set ouerwhart on both sydes. The wheales were also full of Iron pikes eyght forth, and of great hokes both vpward and downward, wherewith all thyng was cutte a sondre that came in their waye. When his people were thus furnyshed of armour and had prouided sufficiently for the warres, he remoued from Babilon, and kepyng the ryuer of Tygre on his right hand, and Euphrates on his lefte hand, ouerspredde with his army all the playnes of Mesopotania. After that he passed Tigre and vnderstandyng that his enemy was commyng at hand sent first Satrapaces before with a thousand chosen horsemen, and afterwardes appointed syx thousand to Malcens to stop Alexander the passage of the Ryuer. Who had also in commission to waste & burne all the countrey where he iudged that his enemies should come, thynking to famyshe them with wante of victualles, consyderyng that they had no other prouision but suche as they got by rauyne, and by sleithe: they themselues hauyng plenty brought them both by lande and by the ryuer of Tigre. At length he came vnto a village called Arbella, whiche was afterwardes famous by reason of his ouerthrowe. There he lefte the chief furniture of his victualles and cariage, and made a bridge ouer the Ryuer of Le-

Tygre.
Euphrates.
Satrapaces
Malcens.
Arbella.
Lycus.

cus.

rus. And in fyue dayes conueyed ouer his army as he had done before ouer Euphrates: passing foreward from thence about foure score furlonges. He came vnto an other ryuer called Dorunella. and there encamped. Dorunella.
The countrey serued wonderfull well for the arrangyng of his battailles in the large playnes, pallable for horses euery where, and without stubbes, or shorte bushe, to couer the ground withall. but so free a prospect that the eye might dere the thynges a great waye of. And if there appeared any hilles within the playne. Darius caused the same to be caste downe. and the ground to be made smothe. Suche as by coniecture made reporte to Alexander of Darius power coulde not be credited. for he could not thinke after so many slayne, there coulde be a greater power gathered together than he had before. But he that neuer doubted any perill, and muche lesse the multitude of men, after the eleuēth encāping came to the ryuer of Euphrates, ouer the whiche he made bridges and passed ouer his horsemen and afterwardes his footemen. For Mazeus that was sent against him with sixe thousand horsemen to let his passage, durst not encounter with him. When he had continued there a fewe dayes not only to reste his souldiers but also to confirme their myndes and encourage them, he sette forewardes stoutly against his enemy, fearyng that he would haue retired back into the inwarde partes of his countrey, whether he should haue bene enforced to folowe by waste places and desertes. Therefore the fourth daye he passed by Arbella and came vnto the ryuer of Tigre. All the countreybeyond the Ryuer was on a smoke, newely sette on fier by Mazeus, who burned all thynges where he came euen as he had bene an enemy. Alexander at the

fyrste by reason of the darckenes of the smoke stayed for feare of embushementes. But when they which were sent to scouer the countrey deported that all thing was clere he apoynted a fewe horsemen to proue the passage of the Riuer. who founde the deapnes at the fyrst entre to come to the horse breaste and in the middes of the streame to the horse neckes. There is no Riuer in all the east partes of the worlde that ronneth so violētly. which besides the waters of other riuers that do rōne into it. driueth downe stones with the streame so that of his swiftnes it is called Tigre. whiche in the percian tonge is so much to say as an arrowe. The footemē therfore deuided into two bādes. holdig there armour ouer ther heades were enclosed on both sydes with the horsemen. and so passed till they came in the deape of the chanell without anye great difficultye. The kinge was the firste amonge the fotemen that passed ouer to the furtherside. who with his hande (seinge his voyce could not be harde) shewed the shallowe places vnto the souldiers. But they had muche paine to kepe their footing by reason of stones wherupon they stumbled. and of the violence of the water that toke their feete away. Suche as caried burthens on their backes had the greateste trauaill whyche not beinge able to staye them selues by reason of the trouble of their carriage were borne downe by violence of the streame. And whiles euery man went about to recouer agayne his owne. ther fel greater strife amōges them selues. then they had with the streame. And the heapes of fardelles that fleted euery where vpon the water bare downe many. The king cried to them that it was sufficyent to keape their armour and lette the rest go. promysing to recompence euery man. But they neither folowed his counsell. nor did as he commaunded

maunded them beſides the noyſe that was emonges them, reare to rulle their faces in their ſwimming and wading through the water. Where the ſtreame was moſt ſhallowe they came furth there being nothing myſ caried or wantinge emonges them all ſauinge a fewe fardelles. If their enemies had made but a moſter againſte them, they might eaſely haue put them to diſtreſſe. But Alexanders continuall good fortune turned then his enemyes away from hym. Wyth wyche fortune he paſſed the Ryuer of Granye, when ſo many thouſandes both of horſemen and footemen kept the paſſage againſt him. After that ſort he ouercame the multitude of hys enemies in the ſtreyghtes of Cilicia. Though his bouldnes were ſuche, that it ſome tyme wanted praiſe, yet his felicitie euer deliuered hym out of all extreme perill. If Mazeus had done his parte and ſet vpon them as they were paſſynge the Ryuer, he myght eaſely haue put them to diſtreſſe, being vnarmed and out of ordre. But after the Macedones had armed them ſelfes (being then to late) he began to ſhewe him ſelfe wyth a thouſande horſemen. When Alexander perceyued the ſmall nombre that came againſt him he cauſed Ariſton captayne of Peonians to giue a full charge vpon them. The horſemen that daye notably behaued them ſelfes, but in eſpeciall Ariſton, which to his ſpere ran Satrapaces the chief captayn through the throte, & purſuyng him into the middeſt of hys campe threw him from his horſe and cut of his heade, which to his great commendacion he brought and threw downe before the kynge. Alexander tarried there two dayes, and againſt the morning cauſed warning to be giuen by proclamacion for his ſetting forwardes. But in the firſt watche of the

Ariſton.

An Eclips of the moone

the moone ſuffred Eclips whiche loſing her brightnes afterwardes became as redde as blood and therewith wared dimme & darke. The ſtraungeneſs of this matter did ſtrike a religious feare amõges ỹ Macedõs. wherof proceded ſuch a doubte & feare, ỹ they fell into a murmur & grudging that they ſhuld be brought forwardes after ſuch a maner againſt the will of the goddes into the vttermoſt boundes of the earth. whet as they were not hable to paſſe the Riuers, nor could endure the accuſtomed vſe of the elementes, finding nothing but waſte groundes and wild deſertes. at which (they ſayed) for the ambicion of one man. for whoſe vainglory the bloude of ſo many thouſandes ſhould be ſhedde. He deſpiſeth (qõ they) his countrey. he hathe forſaken Philip for his father and affected heauen in his folish imaginacion. When Alexander perceiued the matter to come to a mutterig. he that in al thinges was without feare cõmaunded the chief rulers & capteins of his men of warre to aſſemble at his pauilion. and there commaunded the Aſtronomers of the Egiptians (whom he iudged to haue moſte vnderſtandyng of the planettes) to declare their opinions. They vnderſtanding very well the reuolueyons of the tyme. & their apointed courſes knewe that the moone did euer eclipſe. when that either ſhe went vndernethe the earth or elles when her light was blemiſhed by oppoſicõ of the ſõne. which reaſon conceiued amõges them ſelfes they accuſtomed not to teache the people. They affirmed alſo that the greakes were vnder the Regyon of the Sonne. and the Perſyans vnder the moone. & therfore ſo oft& as the moone fel of her light it ſignified great deſtruction to the nacõs vnder that cõſtellacõ. And to confirme that opynõ of theirs they brought

brought in olde westmentes of the kynges of Persee to who the sight of the moone had signified, the goddes were against the in fighting of their battailes. There is nothing more effectuall then superstition to goueme a multitude. whiche of hys pyle is without rule, fierce & mutable. But when they haue once conceiued a religion though it be but vaine, they be more obedient to their dettynes, then to their captaines whiche thing might be well perceiued, when these auntweres of the Egyptians were spread abrode amonges the people, for they streight waies were remoued from their dulnes and dispaire and flurred vp to hope and confidence. Alexander therfore that could vse the tyme, and employe his souldiers in their good mode: in the second watche remoued his campe keping Tigre on his right hād. and the mount whiche they cal Gordel on his left hand. By the spring of the day the scouters that he sent before to discouer, returned to hym with reporte that Darius was coming. Then the souldiers prepared themselues to the fyght, & marched forwardes in ordre of battaile. But those that discouered for the Persians were but a thousand horsemen which keping the scoute a farre of. semed to the Macedons to be a great army. The scouters commonly haue that properte that when they can not fynde out the truthe, they imagen thinges more feare thynges that be false. When Alexander vnderstode the certaynte he sent out towardes them a smalle nombre of his owne horsemen: at whose commyng they fled, & were partely slayne and partely taken prisoners. This done he sent horsemen as well to discouer further, as also to quenche the fire whiche the Persians had made through all the countrey. For as they fled away they put fier into the vilages of the houles and the stakes of corne.

The force of superstition to goueme a multitude.

come.whiche sone toke holde aboue and consumed all till it came to the ground. By extinguishyng of thole fiers great plenty of corne was found. and habundace of all other thinges ensued amonges the Macedons. That was a matter whiche encouraged the souldiers greatly to pursue their enemies. For doubting lest they should burne and consume all suche thinges as myght serue to their vse: pursued them with al the speade they could make.wysdome growing of necessitie. For Mazeus whiche before did burne the countrey at leysure, whē he sawe himself pursued.fled away & left vnto the Macedons the more parte vntouched. Alexander vnderstanding that Darius drewe towardes hym. & was come within an hundred and fiftie furlonges. made prouision of victualles. and remayned foure dayes in thesame place. Darius letters were there intercepted. whiche he had written to the Grekes.in perswasion either to kyll or betray Alexander. Who doubted whether he should recite thesame letters openly or no. hauing no mistrust of their benetiolence and affection towardes hym: But Parmeno did waded the putting of any suche promises into the souldiers heades.considering that the committing of suche an acte consisted in one mans hand.and that sometymes iudged neuer any thing vnlawt till. He folowed Parmenos counsel. and so remoued his campe. As they were marching one of the Grekes that attended vpō Darius wife brought worde that she fainted.and drew her breath with great difficultie. for in dede she was so wered with continuall trauail of her iourney.and care of mynde. that she fel downe in a swowne betwixt her mother in law and her yong daughter.and so died. He had not so sone tolde the tale but another came with tidinges that she

was

was dead in bedde: where at Alexander was no les sorowful then if his owne mother had bene in the same case: and such teares falling from his eyes as Darius shulde haue shed: repaired into the tente where Darius mother was sitting by the dead body. Thether he forthwith returned when he sawe her, he proffered hym selfe vpon the grounde: who by the chaunce that presently fell, being put in remembraunce of her abiectelitie, pale enbraced in her armes Darius. it. doughters, a cõforte to her in their mutual dolour but that she was enforced to cõfort thẽ. Her young nephewe stoode in her presence the more to be pitied, because for his yought he yet vnderstoode not the calamytie that was growing towardes him. A man would haue iudged that Alexãder had wept for his owne case: whiche lamented and would receyue no comforte but abstayned from meat, & reserued all honor to be done to the dead corse after the countrey custome of the Persians, Wherby he was hereby to receyue the prayse of such mekenes and continency. He had only sene her once before, which was the daye of her takynge, and thẽ came not to viewe her, but as Daris mother. The excellencye of her beautye, was no prouoking to him of lustes, but of glory. Of those Eunukes that were about the Quene there was one Tiriotes which during this murning and lamentacion, escaped by a gate that was vnwarded and fled vnto the Persians Campe, where he was by the watchmen brought to Darius presence. When Darius sawe hym lamentyng and teareynge of his clothes, he was in a wõderful expectacõ what his sorowe should be, doubting what thyng he myght feare moste. Thy countenaunce (qd he) declareth that some great mischefe is happened. Take heede thou conceleste nothing from my miserable eares. I haue learned to

Darius to Tyriotes.

be

be vnfortunate. and it is often tymes a comforte of mans calamitie to knowe his mishapp. Is it not the misusing of my wife and childzen that thou wolde it tel me: which is the thing I suspecte most and leaste to vtter and (as I beleue) is more greuous vnto them then any kynde of torment. Nothing les (q̄ Tiriotes) the same honor that was gyuen vnto the by your subiectes the like is vsed by him that is victorious. But your wife is the cause of my amasement, which is euen nowe dedde. whē that word was ones spoken there was nothing but lamētacion & howling out through the camp And Darius could not be otherwise perswaded but that she was slaine, bicause she would not consent to hys misusement. and in the vehemency of his sorowe cryed out. O Alexander what so great an offence haue I committed against the whom of thy kinred haue I slaine, that thou shuldest requite me with this cruelties Thou hast done it without enye prouokement of my parte. But be it so that thou doste moue warre against me yet is it thy parte therein to kepe warre with women. Tyriotes thereupon did sweare by the goddes immortal, that she had receiued no kynde of violence nor harme, but that Alexander lamēted her death and wept no les thē he him selfe would haue done. Those woords driue him into further suspicion and iealousie, concerning that Alexanders behauior therin had rule vpon the captiue conuerse that had betwixt them. Therfore he auoyded all persones from him sauing only Tyriotes, & leauing his weping, but yet nere dead for sorow said vnto hym: Thou seeste nowe Tiriotes that yes cōtayne no place. Cōmētes straight ways shalbe brought before the iij requite the thē for it any reuerence of the Queence remayne within thy harte. tel me without

Darius exclamacion in his sorowe

compulcion

compulcion the thing that I desire to knowe and am ashamed to enquire. Is it possible being of thage that he is, and hauing hir in his handes that he should not attempt hir: Timotes offered hym selfe to be racked in tryall of the cause, and called the gods to witnes, that she was neuer vsed but chastly & reuerently. Atlegth when he was once parsuaded that hys wordes were true, He couered his heade, weping longe space. And afterwards the teares yet distilling down his cheekes vncouered his face, and holding vp his handes to heauen, said, O you goddes that I do worship I require you chefly to stablishe this kyngdome vnto my selfe. But if ye haue determyned my ruyn and decaye, then my request is that none maye reigne as kynge in my dompnion, but euen he that is so iust an ennemy, and so mercifull a victoyer. And therefore though he had twise before required peace at Alexanders handes & preuailed not, but had conuerted al his mind towardes the warres: yet he was then so ouercome with the continencye of his ennemy, that he sent ten of the chiefest of his blod as Emballadors to treate wyth hym vpon condicons of peace. Alexander calling a counsel gaue them presence, to whom the eldest spake in this wise. That Darius hath nowe the third tyme demaunded peace of you no powre hath cõpelled hym, but your iustice & cõtinency hath moued him. He shuld not perceiue, & ether his mother, wife, or childre were prysoners lacking for want of their cõpany, you take care of their chalitres, which remaine on liue, yea euen as you were their father, you giue to thẽ the hõor apteining, & suffer thẽ to cõtinewe in their former estate. I se þ dolorousnes in your face, that I saw in darius whẽ I pted frõ hi, & yet he doth mourn for his wif, & you for your enemy

Darius petition.

The words of Darius Embassadors.

And

And if the care of her buriall had not bene, you had nowe stand in battell in redynes to fyght. Is it any maruell therefore if he require peace of suche one, that is so frendly disposed towardes him. Where that shall they nede to contend with armes betweene whom there remaineth no hatred. In his former treaties he offered the Riuer of Alys whych boundeth vpon Lydia to be the conkynes of your empire. but nowe he proffereth you in dowre with his doughter to be deliuered out of hād. al those countreis that lie betweene Hellespōt and Euphrates. For the performans of which his promys and for the obseruing of peace. Orchus his sonne nowe in your possession shalbe the pledge for his parte. His requeste is to haue his mother. and his two daughters restored vnto him. For which thre you shall receyue. xx. thousand Talentes. Except I knewe the moderacion that is in you I would not be so bold to say that this is a time when you ought not only to graūt peace. but also to seke for it yourself. Loke back and beholde what a great thing you leue behind you. and forre how much it is that you couet before you. Ouer great an empire is daungerus. And it is hard to hold that you be not able to receaue. Do you not se that those thynges which be of exceding greatnes. that they cannot well be gouerned. Iudge that to be the cause that Darius lost so muche. Because that ouermuche is the occasion of much losse. It is more fool to get many thinges then to keape a fewe. How much more easily do our handes catche. then holde styll. The dere beathe of Darius wyfe nowe doth shewe. that you haue not so great occasion to shewe your clēpācion as you had before. The Embassadours were remoued vnto an other place and he debated in counsell his oppinion. It was long

before

before any durst vtter what they thought, because they were vncertain how we the kyng was enclined. At length Parmenio spake and said: my opinio was euer that the prisoners taken at Damasco should haue bene deliuered to such as wold redeme thē, wherby a great somme of money might haue bene made of them, whiche now remaining in captiuitie pester the hādes of many a mā of seruice. And nowe I thinke moste necessary of all, ỹ you exchaunce for .xxx. talentes of gold this olde womā and the two yong damosels, which be but impedimētes and disturbaunce to you in your iourneis. The cōquest (he said) was better that was gotē by treaty, rather then by force. And that there was neuer none before him ỹ was lorde of all the countreis in length & breadth lieng betwene Tigris and Euphrates: he willed him therfore rather to haue respect towardes Macedonia, then to loke forwardes towardes Bactria & the Indias. His wordes liked not the king, & therfore so sone as Parmenio had made an end of his tale, he made this answere: And I, if I were Parmenio, would rather desire money then glory. But now seing I am Alexander, I am not in any doubte of pouertie, & haue cōsideracion that I am a king & no marchaunt. I haue nothing wherof I wil make sale and muche lesse sell my fortune. If I were in minde to deliuer the prisoners it were muche better to geue them freely, then to ransome the for money. Hereupō he called in the Embassadours & answered the in this sort. Shew you to Darius that ỹ getting of thankes is but waste to a mans enemy, and let hym not thinke, that I haue had any respect to his frendshyp in those thinges ỹ I haue done of mine owne clemency & liberalitie, nor let him not impute the same in any wise towardes himself, but to the inclinacio of mine owne nature, and that I contende not against mens

Parmenios opinion concerning the ransomming of prisoners

Alexanders answere to the Embassadours.

calamities, but against the force of mine enemies I vse not to make warres vpon women & prisoners, for he must be armed to whome I shall shewe my hatred. And though it were so in dede that he mēt good faith in his peace asking, yet peraduenture I would aduise me before I would consent. But seyng that at some tyme he hath by his letters prouoked my souldiers to betray me and at other tyme stored vp my frendes with money to my destruction: I must pursue him to thuttermost, not as a righteous enemy, but as one that worketh his thinges by treason. If I should accept the condicions of peace that you do bring, I should acknowledge him to be victorer, whiche liberally doth geue me all that is behynd the ryuer of Euphrates, not consideryng in what place I speake now vnto you. Haue you forgotte that I am passed the ryuer of Euphrates, incamped beyond the boundes ye proffer me in dowre? driue me from hence that I may knowe thesame to be yours, wherewith ye would infeoffe me. He proffereth me his doughter with no greater liberalitie then he would do to one of his seruauntes. Dothe he thinke to do me a pleasure in preferryng me to be his sonne in lawe before Mazeus? Go and shewe this to your kyng, that both that he hath lost and that he hath yet in possession, shall be vnto me rewardes of the warre, whiche warre shall discusse the boundes of both our Empires and by the fortune of the battaille we shall fight to morowe, appointed to eche of vs our limittes. Let hym knowe that I came not into Asia to receiue but to geue. If he would haue bene content to be second persone and not coueted to be equall with me, I would peraduenture haue graūted his request. But as two sonnes cannot shyne on the earth at once, so likewise two suche great

kyngdomes

kingdomes cannot be at one time in the world without the subuersion therof. Therfore let him either this day yelde himself or els prepare himself against ꝑ morowes fight. nor let him not pluade himself to haue other fortune. then he hath proued alredy. The Embassadours replied: ꝑ seing he was resolued to procede with warre he did royally in that he was plain. and did not kode the furth with hope of peace. their request was therefore that they might be dispatched to the kynge to warne him to prepare likewise for the warre: when they returned they declared that Alexander was determined out of hand to trie the matter by battaille. Wherefore Darius sent Mazeus out of hand with iii. M. horsemē to kepe the passages whereby the Macedones should passe. when Alexāder had perfourmed the funeralles of Darius wife. leuyng with a small guarrison al such as were vnprofitable for the fight. within the strength of his campe, set forwardes towardes his enemies. His footemen were deuided into two battailles empaled with horsemen on both sydes. and his cariage went in the myddes. Then he sent Medinas with horsemen vpon the spyes to discouer where Darius was: who commyng within the viewe of Mazeus. durst not passe any further. but brought reporte that he could here nothing els but the noyse of men and neying of horses. Mazeus likewyse discouered them and returned back to Darius, declaring that his enemies were commyng: Then Darius. whole desire was to encounter his enemies in the playne and open fieldes, commaunded his men to armour. and deuided them into two partes. wherof the one marched on the left hand. and the other on the ryght. In the battaille on the

The ordre of Darius battailes.

left hande a.M. of the Bactrian horsemen had the first place, with the like nūbre of Dahans and .iiii. M. Arachosians and Susians after which: band of horsemē there folowed .C. hoked wagons, and behind thē Bessus with an other band of .viii. M. Bactrians horsemē & .ii. M. Massagetes. The footemen of diuers naciōs came next in ordre of battaille, not mixed together, but eche contreymē by themselues. Ariobarzanes and Orsibates had the gouernement of the Persians. Mardiās and Sogdiās. But their charge was deuided. and Orsines that was come of the .vii. Persiās & of the bloud of noble king Cyrus had ỹ rule of the whole: Other nacions folowed whose names were scarsely knowen to their owne company. Cradates was the next whiche hauing also fiftie hoked wagons, placed a band of Caspians horsemen before them, and behind them the Indians and other the inhabiters of the redde sea, rather names of men then good assistaūce. This square was empaled with fiftie wagons. vnto the whiche the mercenary souldiers were ioyned. After them folowed the men of Armeny the lesse, then the Babilonians, and next the Bellitans with suche as inhabite the Cossean mountaynes. The Gortuans came next. whiche sometyme folowed the Mediās out of Euboia, but at those dayes degenerated from their countrey customes. The Phrigians. Cathonians, and Parthians, enclosed the tayle. This was the battaille on the left hand. In the battaille on the ryght hand were the people of the greater army, the Cadusians, Capadociās, Siriās, and medians, who had fifty hoked wagons. The some of his whole army was .xlv. M. horsemē & .C.C. thousand footemē. When they were placed in ordre of battaille, they marched forewardes ten furlōges, and they

Bessus.

Ariobarza-nes.

Cradates.

were

were commaunded to stay. Whiles the peeres after that many yeres of their enemies, were fallen in feare amongest the Macedons: whereof there appeared no cause, yet suche vayne was amased, a certaine dread entred into their hertes. The lightening that fel out of the aper being in the seuer season semed like fier, and the flames sodainly appearing, were thought to come from Dareus campe. If Meneus whiche was sent to obserue the if comming had set upon them whiles they were in this feare, he might haue done them vnrecouerable domage. But he was ferd to do his enterprise, & remained vpon the toppe of an hille, wherby that he was not assailed. Alexander perceiuing the tempest that was come amongest his men, made a signe for them to stay, and gaue order that they should vnarme them selues, & refreshe their bodies: geuing them to vnderstand that there was no cause why they should so sodainly conceiue a feare, seing their enemies were yet a good distaunce from them. At length when he perceiued they had recouered their spirites, he exhorted them both to receiue courage, and to put on their armour. But yet he thought nothing more expedient for the case present, then to fortifie his campe in the same place. The next daye Meneus whiche had planted himselfe on a hygh hill from whence he might beholde his enemies campe, either for feare or els because his commission was but only to discouer, returned againe vnto Dareus. Vpon his departure the Macedons by and by take the hille whiche he had forsaken, the same being of more strength then the playne where they remayned before, from whence he might beholde their enemies campe. And though the mule whiche the moste hilles did cause forth, take not away clerely the vse of the prospect: yet

letted them to deserue the deuision of their enemies
bateles. And therwith the multitude of whom dayly
encreased the tydes and the noyse of many a horrible
tyded there rares thought they wolde neuer be. Then
Alexander began to doubte in his heade and debate
wyth hym selfe. one while gat mistrust vppermost and
a nother tyme his owne. For he was come to such forth
that he could not retire except he were victorer wyth
out the great destruccyon of hys armye. The mul-
tytude of hys enemyes moued hym muche in respect
of hys small nombre. yet on the other parte he re-
membred what great actes he had don wyth them. and
howe many nacions he had vanquyshed. So that
hope surmountynge hys feare he thought it more
daunger of all to delaye the battell any lenger lest des-
peracion might growe amonge hys men. and therfore
dissimblyng the matter caused the Thessalyan
horsemen. and the Peones to passe on before. and de-
uided hys phalanx as it hath bene sayed before. into
two battayles. and empaled the same wyth horsemen
on both sides. By that tyme the mate anoyed and be-
gan to wax clere. the ordre of their enemies appeared
manifestly. The Macedones then whether it were of
courage. or for that they were impacient to tarie any
lenger made such a shoute as men of warre vse when
they ioyne in battell. the like was also made by the Per-
sians. So that the woods and vallies round about.
rebounded wyth the terryble sounde. The Macedones
then coulde not absteine any lenger. but wolde haue
come forwardes towardes their enemies. But Alex-
ander thought it better to fortifie his campe vpon that
hyll. and so commaunded it to be entrenched aboute.
All wyth worke being spedely performed he entered in

hys

his tent from whens he might beholde his enemyes
host. Then the hole fashyō and ordre of the enemyes
that was at hand was gathered before his eyes. Both
horsemen and fotemen glistened there bright armour,
and al thinges were prepared with great diligence. Alex
beheld the gare of the captaines in his enemyes campe:
howe they did rebe vp & dyspose to set thinges in ordre.
And diuers thinges which were but litle in deade
as the noyse of men the neyng of horses & the gnashing
of their armour troubled greatly the mynde that was readie
in the preparation of the matter. Therefore whether he
were that he was not fully resolued in his myndes or els
to proue the myndes of suche as were about hym, cal-
led hys frendes to counsel, whose opinyons and argu-
mentes that was the moste noble and valiaunt of all the
captaines in the feates of warre, thought good not to
geue his enemyes playne battell but rather to set vpō
them in the dead time of the nyght where by he thought
they might easyly be discomfited. Remouing that they
amōgs whō there were a great diuersitie of languages
and alteracion of languages, could neuer assemble wel
together, specially when they should be put to flight in feare
in the night tyme betwene sleapes wherein in the daye
tyme the beawe of the Scythians and Bactrianes
with their rough faces and longe beardes, beyōde the
hugenes of their bodies should appeare terrible. And
argued howe soudiours were more moued with bashe
causes of feare and suche were of no. Whereat then
with such as were iuste causes to be he declared also
howe their enemyes by reason of their great multitude
shoulde be hable to enclose there [illegible] rounde
about, and that they should [illegible]

Alexanders
counsaile.

Parmenio
his opinion.

straites and narowe passages of Cilicia, but in an open and large playne. They all in maner agreed to Parmenios sayeng: and Polyearpon was of a playne opynion, that the victorie consisted in the pointe where he had be vsed. The kyng that before had taunted Parmenio more bitterly then he thought good, would not checke him againe, but beheld Polyearpon and sayed: That policie that you aduise me pertaineth to robbers and theues, for it is their propertye to worke by sleight and deceite. I will no more suffre that eyther Darius absence, the steepnes of the ground or the helpe in the night, shalbe an hinderaunce to my glorye. I am plainly determined to haue to do with hym in the open day, and had rather repent me of my fortune, than be ashamed of my victory. Besides this it is to be considered, that the Persians heape good watche, and stande armed alwaies in a readines to receyue vs, wherof we haue aduertisement: so that they cannot be deceyued that waye. Therefore thei bothe remayne no more, but that you prepare your selues to the battayll. Either he had by these wordes put the kyng out of doutage, or els mistrusted them from counsell, to correct the there bodies, vsually coniecturing that his enemyes would haue done the same thing þ Parmenio did perswade, caused the horses to stand redy bridled, the hole night, and the more of his hoste to continue armed and keape good watche. His cape shone bright with the fiers that were made, and he him self with his captaynes and bandfolkes wēt about his battels that stode in ordre and in armes making inuocation to the Sonne, to Mars, and to the euerlasting fier, that they would inspire vnto them a fortitude of mynd, that might aunswer to the auncient glory and actes of his predecessors. And shewed if the mynd

Alexanders aunswer

myndc of men were able to conceyue, eyther tokens or
signes of the goddes fauour, or assistaunce. It was no
doubte but that they wondered on their syde, hearing al-
redy spreden abroade amonges the Macedonians
which (as I said) might be seene by them rouing here and
there by the casting vp and pulling of their Armour. And
that the gods which tooke care of the Persians, Iupiter
nor Mars were determined to geue ouer the soueraintie
vnto a straunge kinge of another lande, then the rest
was, sithens these twoo bandes, which through gre-
dines of the pray that they so coueted into the hearte
that he fedde them. The selfe same was amonges the
Macedonians, for as though the victory should haue ben
tried that night, either of their owne inuentes and feare.
Alexander himselfe that was neuer seene in such feare
before that tyme, gaue order vnto his Southsayers to make Vowes
& prayers vnto the gods, and he himself carying Torches in
his hande, with his hedde crowned went before the kinge
calling vpon Iupiter Dyonisius & Victoria. When he
had thus ordered his sacrifice according to the religion
returned into his pauilion to take some rest that night.
But he could not either sleape, but continually
debated with himself howe, or by what meanes he should assaile his
enemies: One while he was of opinion to geue his
first bicket vpon that battell of the Persians that should
come on his right hande: Somtyme he determined
to meete his enemies in a plaine frounte: and an other
while was in doubte whether it were better to set first
on their left battell. At length hys bodye became heauy
with trauaill of the mynde and fell into a sound sleape.
When the daye appeared the Captaines assembled about
the kinges pauilion, to receyue their charge. Where
they stode amased with greater silence then they were

accustumed. For they could not but wonder that Alexander who was euer wonte to call vpon other men and to reproue suche as were slowe of them selfe, now to be then slouthy when the matter was come to the pointe of the extreme daunger. And many were of opinion that he slept not but slombred for feare, yet for all that none of them that were about his person durste attempte to wake hym. Tyll the diuine season the tyme paste away, and the souldiers myght not haue put on their armour, nor go in order of battaille without commaundement of their heed. Whan they had thus tarried a good while. Parmenio came commaundement they shoulde fall to meate. At length when the tyme came that men vse to sette their battayles, he entered into the kynges lodgyng and called vpon hym bothe tymes by his name: but when he could not awake hym with his voyce he clapped hym with his hand: It is farre on the day (quod he) and your enemies come forewarde in order of battaylle and your souldiers beyng yet vnarmed, hedeles commaundement yet geuen them what they shall do, here is that therefore lyes and courage of yours therof, whyche were wonte to stirre vpon the meest sodeyn tydynges Alexander made answere: Thinke you that I could slepe before I had rid my self of the care that letteth me to take my rest: and therupon caused the noumpetes to blowe to the battaille. But when Parmenio continued still in admiration that he myght haue slepte so quietly. It is no maruell (quod Alexander) why he Martius burned the countrey wasted the villages and destroyed the victualles. I could them in no wyse be quiet. But now what cause haue I of feare, seeyng he prepareth hymself to fyght: he hath nowe fulfilled

Parmenio to Alexãd.

my

The order that Alexander vsed at the battaill of Arbella.

Argiraspides

the ennemies through their multitude should enclose the battell about. he planted a great force behinde for the reliefe of that matter. and set a reliefe also vpon the wynges. not in front with the rest but vpon the sides. to thentent that if the enemies attempted to compasse about the battailles. that there should be redy to kepe them doing. Those that occupied the places of reliefe were the Agrians. of whome Attalus was capitayne. and the archers of Crete ioyned vnto them. Suche as stode in the hinder partes of the battailles were ayded to turne their faces fro the contrariwes. because that being in a redines euery waye. the battailles in euery place should be of like force. They whiche stode with their faces contrariwyse were the Galicians & the mercenary souldiers. with the Thracias that were lightly armed. These his battailles were set so aptly to be turned euery way. that such as stode in the hinder partes could not be enclosed about. but myght towardes the parte make their front. So the front. the flankes. and the hinder partes were all of like force. When he had set his men in order after this maner. he gaue commandement. that if the Barbarias should put forwarde vpon them their hoked wagons with a cry on euery side. that they should open their battailles and receyue them with silence. not doubting but that they should passe through without harme doing. if no man did vexe them. But if they should come without any shoute. commaunding that then they themselues should make a cry as feerce as they myght. and so with pikes should meete them on euery syde. They which had the charge of the battailles were commaunded to extende them so muche in breadth as they myght. lest by standing close they might be enuironed. and yet not to stretche them so farre out. to

leue

leue the places boyde or thinne in the middes. The cariage and the prisoners amonges whom Darius mother was, were set in the toppe of an hill with a small guarde about them. The charge of the left battel was cõmitted to Parmenio as was accustomed before time and Alexander him self was in thother. When they were come nere together one Bion came flieng from the Persian campe in all the haste he could make, and declared vnto the king that Darius had planted frõ galtroppes. Where as he thought hys horsemen shoulde passe, and by a certaine signe shewed him the place, bicause it might be auoyded. Alexander willed the fugitiue to be kept sauffe, and assembled all hys captains together, declaring the matter and exorting them to make their souldiers priuie to the daunger, foreschewyng the place poynted out to them. But all that were in so great an army could not hear ỹ warning giuen, the noyse of both armies takyng away the vse of the eares. But Alexãder riding betwixt the battels, gaue exortacion to the Capitains and to all other that were within hearing. He declared that ther was but one hasarde remaynynge to them that had passed through so many coũtreis in hope of the victorie which they were now ready to fight for. Therupõ he reduced to their memorie the battelles they had fought, at the Ryuer of Granike, in the mountaynes of Cilicia, and with what spede they had passed ouer both Syria and Egipt, the rehersal wherof put them in great hope and pricked them forwardes to the desire of glory. He shewed that the Persians being withdrawen again from their former flieng, were now cõpelled to fight of neseſſitie bicause they could fle no further, and how that thre days together amased for feare thei had remained

Alexanders exortacion to hys men.

styll

still in one place wyth their armor on their backes. Of whose dispaire (he sayd) there coulde be no greater argument then that they had set on fire their owne contrey. confessing all to be their ennemies. that they destroyed not. He exhorted them not to feare the vaine names of vnknown nacions. as a thing nothing pertinent to the warre. whych were called Scythians or Cadusians. For that they were vnknown nacions. was the greatest token that they were men of no valour. For that such as be valiant men could neuer be vnknown in the world. And contrariwise bastards. when they come forth of ther denes bring nothing wt them but names of men wher as you ye be Macedons haue obtained by your vertue & manhod. that ther is no Contrey in the world ignorant of your actes. He willed them to behold ye euil order ye was in their enemies host. of whom some had no weapon but a darte. other a slinge to cast stones. & very few had such armour as thei ought to haue. So that though there were a great nombre on the other parte. yet he said thei had more on their side that should come to hand strippes. And ye for his pte he would not require any man to aduenture hym self. except he were an ensample to the to shewe their valiantnes & courage. For he promised ye he should be sene fighting wt the formost knowing ye so many wounds as he should get. should be so many ornamentes to his plon. He said they themselues knew ye he would be no ptaker of the pray. but ye euer his custume was to bestowe the rewardes of the victory to their behoue & commoditie. His former wordes he shewed to be spoken to such as were men of courage But if ther were any ye were otherwise. he had to saye vnto the: that they were come to the place from whens they could not fle. hauig left so many countreis behid the which they had passed ouer. & so many riuers & mountaynes

teyns at their backes. So that now there was no way to their houses and countrey, but such as they muste make open with their owne handes. This was the exhortation he gaue vnto the captaines, and to such of ꝯ souldiers as stode next him. Darius that was in his left battail accompaned with a choyse band of electe horsemē. & fotemē. dispiced the smal nōbre of his ennemies their battails appearing to him thinne & boyde of mē. when he saw ther winges stretched so fat abrode. He stode therfore in his Chariot on hie. & turning him self both on the right hand and the left, spake in this sort to such as were abouts him. We that lōg ago were lords of al the coūtries lieng betwixt Hellespōt & the Ocean Sea, are cōpelled now to fight not for fame and glori but for our sauegard and our libertie, with chyefly is to be estemed. This date shal I either establishe or make an ende of the greatest Empire that hath bene in any age. At ꝯ riuer of Granik we fought vp a smal part of our powre. Wher we were vāquished in Cilicia, Siria was able to receiue vs, and the Ryuers of Tigre and Emphrates were as bulwarkes to defende our kingdome. But now we come to that pointe, that we haue no place to fle to, if we be put to flight. All thinges behind our backes are wasted vp this long warre, nether cities be inhabited nor mē left to tylle the grouid. Both our wiefes and chyldren do folowe thys armye, a praye redie for our ennemyes, except we put forth our bodyes for the defence of suche as be dere vnto vs. So much as hath cōcerned me. I perfourmed preparing such an army as this huge plaine is scarsly able to receiue: I distributed emonges you horse & armour, prouided ꝯ vitels should not want for such a multitude, and haue chosē out an apt place to deraye ꝯ batailes in. The oracle of Darius.

All

All the reste remaineth in your handes. Do but dare. and the victorie is yours. Despise you this fame which is but a weke weapon against men of valeur. It is rashenes which hitherto ye haue feared as a vertue. whereof when the furste brunt is spent. it wareth then dul. as the bees when they haue ones lost their thōges. This plaine hath disclosed their smal nombre. which ꝑ moūtaines of Cilicia did hide: you se how thinne their rankes be, their winges how they be extended abrode. howe their battels be emptie and voyde of men. And such as be hinder most haue alredy turned their backes They may be ouerthrowne wyth the horse fete though I send none against them but the holed wagons And if we wynne the battaile we make an end of the warre for thei haue no place to flie vnto. They be shut in with Tigre on the one side, & with Euphrates on the other: and such things as before made for their purpose. now be turned and make clere against them. Our Armie is light. and without much baggage. and they be laden with prayes and with booties. We shall kill them therfore as they be wrapt in our spoiles. And the same one thing shalbe both our gaine. and the cause of our victorye. If any of you be moued wyth the fame of the nation you must thinke that the armour and outward shew & not ꝑ bodies of the verie Macedons be their ꝑsent we haue cōsumed so much of their blould since ꝑ warre begā. And seing they be but few. their losse must nedes be to them the greater. For howe great so euer Alexander doth seme to suche as be fearfull. and rowardes. he is but a mā. and if you trust me. both rathe and without consideration; and hetherto more fortunat through euer feare then by his own valure. There is nothing can cōtinue that is not gouerned by reasō.

For

for though fortune seme to fauoure for a whyle, yet at length she shall not suppoze his callinges. Beleeue that the estate of thynges be full of chaunge, and no man hath perpetuall felicitie. It may be that the prouidence of the goddes haue so ordeyned it, that the Empire of the Persians enhealed with suche prosperous successe by the space of two hundred and thirty yeares, and brought to so great an height of fortune, should nowe rather be shaken, then vtterly ouerthrowen: Therby to admonyshe vs of mans fragility, whiche lieth to forget himselfe ouermuch in prosperous estate. It is not long agoe sithee of our owne motion and courage, we moued warre against the Grecians, and inuaded their dominions, but nowe we stand at defence in our owne countrey. Thus we be tossed one against an other by exchaunge of fortune. For one nacion cannot beare the greatnes of the Empire whiche we both do couet. But be it so that hope were taken from vs, yet necessitie ought to prick vs forwardes, the matter is come to suche extremitie. He keapeth nowe as prisoners, both my mother, my two doughters and Ochus my sonne, borne to the succession of this Empire. He keapeth captiue your princes, the same that is descended of the blood royall, yea & your capitaines equall with kynges, and if you be not nowe lay to your handes I my self am lyke to become captiue. Deliuer you therfore my bowels out of my prison, and restore to me my children, for whose sake I do not refuse to die. Be you all sure that both my mother and my children (for my wyfe is dead in prison) be holding vp their hades crying vnto the goddes, & calling for your helpe, your copassio and fidelitie, that you would deliuer them from seruitude, from fetters, & from the state they are in. Hauing at

other mens will & apointment. Thinke you ꝑ they can be cõtent to liue vnder such as thei could scarsly vouch saue to haue for subiectes. I see that our enemies battailles do approche, & the nere the daunger is at hand. ꝑ lesse the wordes I haue spokẽ do content me. I make request to you by the goddes of our coũtrey by the eternall fier that is caried vpon the aulters. by the brightnes of the sonne that riseth within the boũdes of mine Empire. by ꝑ euerlasting memory of Cyrus. which first did take the Empire frõ the Medes & Lidians & gaue it to the Perciãs. deliuer their name & this nacion frõ shame & reproche. Go fourth therefully haue you good hope. and se that you restore to your possetitte. the glory you haue receiued of your elders. Se you cary now in your hãdes your libertie. your helꝑ & your hope in time to come. Whosoeuer contẽpneth death. escaped death & death ouertaketh suche, as do flie frõ death. I ride here in a chariot. not only for that it is my coũtrey custome: but also that I may be sene of you al. And I desire nothing so muche as ꝑ ye will folowe me. whether I shew you an ensample of proues or of cowardnes. In the meane season, whiles Alexander did couet to escue the place of parill ꝑ he was warned of, & enforced himselfe to encounter with Darius lefte battaill where he was in person. was compelled to fetche a compasse about. Whom whẽ Darius perceiued he turned likewise his owne battail towardes him, willing bessus to apoint the Massagites horsemen to geue a charge on Alexanders left battaill. He set before him his hoked wagõs. which by a signe geuen brake out sodenly vpon their enemies with a full course to thintent that by their cõming vnbewares they might do the greater destruction. The pikes that were set before in the wagons destroyed di-

The battail ought at Arbelles betwixt Alexander & Darius.

uers.

uers, & many were borne a boue by y horses that were on both sides. The Macedons gaue not place to thē by a little & little, but troubled their array in a mayn flute. When Darius sawe their disorder, he put thē in more feare and apointed out a thousand horsemē to fetche a compasse about the Macedōs battailes to spoyle their carriage, supposing that the prisoners which were there kept, would breake their bāds, whē they should see their own nacīō approche. Parmenio which was in the left winge perceiued this matter well, & therfore sent by & by Polidamas vnto Alexander to shewe him the daunger, and know his pleasure what he would haue done. When he vnderstode the cace by Polidamas: Go thy way (qō he) and shewe Parmenio, if we wynne the battaill, we shall not only recouer again our own, but shal haue also the spoyle of our enemies. Therfore I would not that any parte of our force should be remoued from the maine battell, but let him fight it out manfully, and not regarde the losse of baggage, wherin he shal obserue the honour of me & my father Philip whose custome was to do the like. In the meane season the Persians were entred amonges the carriages & had slain diuers that were left in their defence whereupon the prisoners began to lose themselues, and taking vp whatsoeuer came to hande, toke parte with the horsemen & sharply assailed the Macedōs. Diuers were so ioyful that they ranne to beare tidinges to Sisigambis howe Darius had wonne the victory, and had ouerthrowen his enemies to their great slaughter, and also that all their carriage was wonne, thynkyng the lyke fortune had bene euery where, seyng they sawe the Persians fall to spoyle. And although they exhorted Sisigambis that she should leue her heuynes and reioyce, yet she continued in the same estate she was in before, not spea-

king one worde nor chaūging collour nor countenaunce. but sat stil immouable. ¶ She was so ouercōe (as it was thought) with sodain hope þ she durst not flatter nor attēpte fortune for suche as did behold her could not perceiue whiche way she was enclined. In the meane season Amyntas. Amyntas that was maister of the horse to Alexand. came with a fewe bandes of horsemen to succour the carriages. but vncertain it was whither he did it of his own head or by the kinges apointmēt. He was not able to endure the force of the Cadusians & Scithians. for fearfully attempting the skirmishe he was driuen back & fled again vnto Alexāder. being rather a witnes of the losse of the cariage. thē a rescuer of the same. The griefe that Alexander conceiued of this matter ouercame the purpose he toke before. & feared (not without cause) lest the souldiers through þ carfulnes to recouer their own might leaue the fight. & resort toward their bagage: he sent therfore Arctes captein of the spearemē that were named Sarissophoros against the Scythes. By this time the hoked wagons. whiche had somwhat troubled the forefront. were come within the square whiche the Macedons cal Phalanx. yet the souldiers neuer shrōk at the matter. but receiued thē into the middes of their battail. where as ioyning thēselues close together. they stode like a wal on both sides. thrusting their pikes into the bowels of þ horses. & ran about þ wagōs. throwing downe such as stode in thē at defence. The whole battaill was entāgled & troubled with the ruyne. & killing of the horses. & suche as gouerned thē. They could not rule their horses when they were once gualled & hurt. whiche with muche leaping & strugling not only brake out of their trace. but also ouerthrewe the wagons. drawing at their tailes the mē þ were slayn. neither being

Arctes.

able

able to stande still for the feare they were in. nor yet go forwardes beyng so fainte of their woundes. yet a fewe of them passed through the battaille. whereby such as the wagons did lite vpon. were vnpiteably slayne. lyeng vpon the ground with their members cut in sonder. yet because that through the greatnesse of their woundes they felt litle payne. they kept their weapons still notwithstãding they were maymed & without strength. tãll suche tyme as by continuall bleadyng. they sounke downe dead. Ireles in the meane tyme had slayne the capitaine of the Scythians that were spoyling of the cariages and repulsed them back. But streightway came the Bactrians by Darius sendyng. and turned the fortune of the field agayne. Many Macedõs were slayne at the first encountrey but more fled vnto Alexander. Then the Persians made suche a showte as men ate wont to do that wynne the victory and fiercely assayled their enemies thinkyng that they had in euery place bene put to flyght. When Alexander perceyued his men shrinke, he rebuked suche as he sawe afrayed, and encouragyng very many that he sawe alone restored the battaille that began to faynt & geue ground. When he had put them in harte. he required them to presse forwardes and go on freely against their enemies. When Alexander perceyuing that the Bactrians were departed to the defeating of the cariages. and by their going had left the right hande battaille of Darius thinne & naked. he bent his force wholy y way. and there made a wonderfull slaughter and destructiõ of his enemies. whiche by reason of their lose array were not able to withstand him. The Persians in the left wynge seing this thing. were in hope to haue enclosed Alexender about. and came forwardes to set vpon

his backe parte. wherby greate daunger had ensued to him beyng enuironed both before and behind. If the Agrians had not put their spurres to their horses and geuen a charge to their enemies. that had nere hande enuironed their kyng about. and so compelled the Persians to turne their faces againe towardes them. The battailes thus were fore trauailed on both sydes. Alexander had his enemies bothe before and behynd. and his enemies that came on his backe were sore oppressed by the Agrians. The Bactrians and that had spoyled the cariages. were excluded from their owne company. and could not recouer their place agayne. Thus the battayles were deuyded in diuers partes. and fought one against an other as their chaunce fell. The two kynges. that ioyned their battayles hard one to an other. renued agayne the fyght. There were moste of the Persians slayne. but the nombre of the wounded were lyke on both sydes. Darius did ryde in a chariot and Alexander vpon an horse. They both had a choise band about them whiche were careles of their owne lyues. For if their kynges should miscary. neyther they could be safe. nor yet delited to lyue. Wherfore euery of them thought it a noble thyng to aduenture them selues before the face of their prince. And he that coueted moste to defende his maister. was in moste peryll. For the man coueted the honour to kyll the kynge on his contrary parte. There (whether it were an imagination of the eyes or a thyng done in dede) suche as were about Alexander. beleued that they sawe an Egle flickeryng aboue his head. whiche neyther feared with clasking of the harneys. nor by the cryeng of them that were dyeng. honge styll in the ayer a lytle aboue hym. Then Alexander whiche ware a white

garment.

garment. and caried lawrell in hys hande shewed thys thyng vnto the souldiers as they were busye fyghtyng as a certayne token of victory. whiche thyng did cause them. whiche before were in some doubte, cherefully and with great confidence, to assayle their ennemies. The fyght contynued after thys sorte vntill the tyme that he was slayne whiche gouerned the horse that drue Darius chariot. Then neyther the Persians nor Macedons. doubted but that Darius had bene slayne. And the Persians vpon that imagination made a barbarous noyse. and a sorowefull howlyng. wherewith they sore troubled and astonied their whole hoste. that were yet fyghtyng with equall victory. Darius kynsmen and the Squires for his body that were on his left hand. lefte hym and fled away with a mayn flyght: but suche as stode in his defence on his ryght hande. conuoyed hym into the hart of the battaill. It is sayd that Darius drue out his sworde and was determined diuerse tymes to kyll hymselfe. rather then to sustayne the shame of flyeng away. But, when he sawe as he sat alofte in his chariot. that a great parte of his army remayned yet fighting. he was ashamed to leue them in suche sorte. And whyles he thus wauered in his opinio betwixt hope and dispaire. the Persians by little and lytle gaue grounde. and shronck from their order. Alexander that had tyed many horses. did chaunge the same he did at that time tyde vpon. & strake at the faces of the that stode at defence. There was none then that made resistance any leger. but a manifest slaughter fell on the Persians. and Darius tourned his chariot to flye awaye. The Macedons pursued them hard that fled. and the duste that flue vp to the skie toke away their prospect. so that they

Darius fled

wandred as it had bene in darknes and euer drewe to-
gether when they hard any voice that they knew. On-
ly the rattling and noyse of the chariot was a marcke
for the Macedones to folowe after. As fortune was
prosperous to the Macedons on this parte. and con-
trarious to their ennemies: so on the other syde.
where Parmenio in the lefte winge encountred with
the Persians they had the better. and the Macedons
Mazeus. the worse. Mazeus with his whole bande gaue a
great charge. and put the horsemen that stoode in the
winges to a sore distres. And therupon by reason he
abounded with multitude began to enclose the footemē
about. Then Parmenio sent worde to Alexander in
what daunger they were in whiche he signified to be
such. that except they had succour in tyme. they coulde
not resiste. but be enforced to flye awaye. Alexander
was gone farre in the chase. when this sorowfull mes-
sage was brought him. Wherfore he commanded the
horsemen to staye and chaked wounderfully e. that the
victory was thus taken out of his hādes. & that Da-
rius had better fortune in fleing then he in hys folowing.
In the meane season the fame of Darius ouerthrowe
was brought vnto Mazeus. And therfore though he
had the vpper hand yet he was stricken with such feare
of his fellowes misfortune. that he made a starke pur-
suite vpon his enemies. Parmenio was ignorant of
the cause why the fight did slake so willingly of there
parte. but boldly vsing the occasion of the victorie cal-
Parmenio encouraged his soldiers led the Tessalien horsemen vnto hym and sayed. Se
you not how our ennemies that euen nowe gaue vs a
feirse onset. be sodenly afrayed. and without awe them
selues. I see the fortune of our kyng doth gaue vs the
victorye. All the feldes be strowen with the Persians
that

that be slaine. Why do you therfore staye: are you not good anoughe for men that be fleing: They sawe his wordes had an apparaunce of a truthe. and therfore by and by they toke courage. and putting their spores to the horse made a full charge vpon their enemies who retired not by littell & littill. but marched away a great pace. And they wanted nothing of flieng sauing that they had not yet directly turned their backes: yet for al that insomuch as Permenio knewe not what was become of the king. nor of hys battell. stayed and would not pursue after them. Mazeus hauing leisure geuen him to flie at his libertie. passed the riuer of Tigre. not the next way. but by a further cõpasse about with more suretie. and so recouered the Citie of Babilon with the remaynes of that vanquished Armye. In the meane season Darius with a fewe that accompained him in his flieng came to the Ryuer of Lycus. wher passinge ouer he stode in doubte. whither he should breake the bridge or no. for it was shewed him that his enemies were at hand. But considering how many thousandes of his men by the breakinge therof should be a pray to hys enemies. he left the bridge standing. and at his departure. said that he had rather open the waye to them that pursued him. then to shut it against them that fled after him. But Darius lefte not his flieng til he came to Arbilla. where he arriued about midnight. Who is able to conceyue in his mind or expresse in wordes. the manifold chaūces in this discomfiture. the slaughter that fell dolly vpon captaines and souldiers. the chasing of them that were put to flight. the destruccion in particular and in generall. Fortune heaped to gether that one daye the chaunces of a whole worlde. Some toke the way that came next to hand. a nother sort fled vnto

the discomfiture.

the woods. and ſought out by pathes. to eſcape ſuch as folowed after them. Ther was a confuſion of horſme & footeme mixed togither without any head. the armed with the vnarmed. and the whole wyth the hurte. At length the compaſſion that one had of an other was turned into feare. and they that could not folow. were lefte bewailing themſelues one to another. But threſt chieflie afflicted the wounded and wemed. which laye alog euerie where in the waies where any water was gaſping after it with open mouth. And when for gredines they had gulled in the troubled water. they began to ſwell. when the mudde ones entred into their entrayles. And bienge thus not in eaſe to moue. the enemie came and ſlurred them vp with new woundes. Some when the brookes were hand. were taken vp by other: ſought out for ſprynges in euery ſecret place. Nor their was no puddle ſo drie nor ſo farre out of the way. that could be hidden from the thireſt of them that ſerched them out. The olde men and women were hard howling and crieng in all the villages nere the waies ſide. how Darius was yet their kinge. Alexander as it hath bene ſaied before ſtaieng the chaſe. was come to the Riuer of Licus. where as the multitude of the fliers was greater then could paſſe the bridge. So that many when their enemyes purſued them. lept into the water. and their laden wyth their armour. and wemed wyth fightyng and flienge were conſumed wyth the ſtreame. But within a while neither the bridge nor the riuer were hable to receyue the companies that continually encreaſed by their vndiſcret flieng. For when feare was once entred into their hartes. they doubted only that. which put them firſt in feare. The Macedos were eger in the purſute

of

of their enemies. and required Alexãder that he would not suffre their enemies to escape fre away. But he to stay them alledged that their weapons were dull. their hãdes wered. their bodies faint with long pursute. and that the daye drue towards night. But in verate dede the care of his other battail which he thought to be yet fighting. caused him to returne to their socour. He had not so sone turned his ensignes. but ỹ certaine horsmẽ brought him worde from Parmenio ỹ the victory was wõne also on their part. He was not in so great a daunger alỹ day. as whẽ he was cõming towards his cãpe. For there were but fewe ỹ folowed him and those out of ordre. as men that reioising of the victorye. iudged all their enemies either to be fled or slaine in the field: then sodẽly ther appered a band of horsemẽ of the contrary parte coming against thẽ. which at the first staied but afterwardes perceiuing the small nombre of the Macedõs. gaue a charge vpõ thẽ. The king rode formoste rather dissimuling. then despising the perill he was in: but his perpetual felicitie neuer failed him in extremities. For at the first encountre he stracke thorough with a speare. the captaine of the Persians. who in egernes of the fight vnaduisedly came agaynst hym whẽ he through his stroke was fallen to the ground. Alexãder slewe the next to him with the same weapõ. and after diuers other. wherewith his company seing the Persians amased. bracke vpon them. and threwe many to the earthe. yet they for their partes were not vnreuenged. for the whole battaill did not so cruelly fyght as that small bande assembled so by chaunce. But at lengthe when they sawe that flyenge in the darke should be more suretie to thẽ then fighting shocked away in diuers companies. Alexander hauing escaped thys extraordinarie perill. brought hys men in

The daunger Alexander was in at his returne from the chase

saufgarde

The nōbre of the dead.

saufegarde vnto his campe. There were slayne of the Persians, whiche came to the knowledge of them that had the victory, xl. M. and of the Macedons lesse then iii. C. whiche victory Alexander wan more by his own vertue, then by any fortune: and with hardines & courage, more then through any aduantage of the ground. For he both ordred his battailles politikely, and fought manfully. With greate wysdome he contemned the losse of the bagage, cōsideryng the weight of the whole matter to consist in the battaille it selfe. whyles the fortune of the field was yet doubtfull, he vsed hymself as assured of the victory. And when he had put his enemies in feare, he ceassed not till he had set them flyeng, and that whiche scarsely can be beleued in that fiersenes of spirite, he pursued in the chase more wisely then gredely. For if he should haue folowed on still, parte of his powte yet fightyng in the field, he should either haue lost the battaylle through his owne fault, or els haue wonne the victory through the prowes of other men. Or if after he had gottē the victory he had shewed him selfe afrayed of the horsemen that he met, he must either haue shamefully fled, or haue bene miserably slain Nor his capitains were not to be defrauded of their cōmendacion: For the woundes that they did receyue, were tokens of their manhode. Ephestions arme was wounded with a spere. Perdicas. Cenos. and Menidas with shot of arrowes were nere slayne. And if we will geue a true iudgement of the Macedons that were there, we muste confesse that he was a kyng worthy such ministers, and they men worthy of suche a maister.

(.•.)

¶ The fifte boke of

Quintus Curtius of the actes of the great Alexander kyng of Macedonie.

IF I shall make mencion of the matters that chaunsed in the meane season both in Greece. Illiria, and Thracia. by the appointment and commission of Alexander in order as they fell the matters of Asia shuld therby be interrupted. which I thought most conuenient to put wholy together vntil the death of Darius. and then to ioyne them in thys worke as they agre with the tyme. I will furste speake of those thinges that ensued after the battayll at Arbella. where Darius arriued about midnight. And as it chaunsed the more parte of his feyndes and of all other that were escaped from the felde were come thither. he called them all together and made an oracion to this effect: That he doubted not but Alexander and his men gaping with gredy desire for the habondance of spoyle that was in redines for them. would visite suche cities and cõtries of his as were moste notable & plentiful of riches: which thing (he said) considering his estate. could not but turne at length to his auaill. Hys purpose was nowe with a small band to repayre into the desertes. And seing the vttermoste partes of his kingdõe were yet vntouched. he should from thẽce easely repayre hys powre agayne to renue the warre. Let therefore that gredy nacion (qõ he) take my treasure. and satisfie their great hunger with gold. which shortly shall cause both the same and them also. to be a pray vnto vs. For he had learned (he said) by experiẽce that

Darius wordes to them that were fledde from the felde

that the haboundance and excesse of their precious furniture. their flockes of Concubines & Eunukes. were nothing els but burdens and impedimentes. Whych Alexander possessing and carieng about should make him inferior vnto them of whom before he was victorius. His oracion semed to all men to be full of desperacion. For they sawe therby that the riche Citie of babylon should be geuen vp vnto the Macedõs. & Susa shortly after wyth all other ornamentes of the realme that were cause of ꝑ warre. But he proceeded in persuading them. howe that men in aduersitie ought not do thinges ꝑ should seame goodly in the speaking but necessary in the perfitee. That warres were made wyth iron. and not with gold. wyth men. and not wyth the walles of Cities. For all thinges folowe them that be armed and in strength. He shewed that his auntetors were afflicted after this maner in the begining. & yet recouered againe quickly their former estate. After he had spoken these wordes. either for ꝑ they were therby encouraged. or els that they rather obeid his autorite then liked his counsell. folowed hym into the bondes of Media. Shortly after Arbella was geuen vp vnto Alexander. which was full of the kynges ryches and treasure. of precious stuf. and apparell. And besides in that towne the substãce of the hole army was lefte. The sikenes that began in Alexanders campe. rising of the sauor of the deade bodies scatered ouer all the fieldes. was the cause that he did the soner remoue. The champion contrey of Arabia very notable with the haboundãce of swete odoers there growyng lay vpon the right hand as they marched. And so passed through ꝑ coũtrey lieng betwen Tigre and. Euphrates whyche is so fat and plentyfull a ground.

Arbella yelded vnto Alexander

Arabye.

that

that the inhabiters be fayne to dryue their beſtes from feading, leaſte they ſhould kill them ſelues by eating ouer muche. The cauſe of thys fertilitie commeth of the moiſter that iſſueth from both riuers. diſtilling by vaines through the grounde. Both theſe ruer haue their beginning in the mountaynes of Armenia. wher they be diſtaunt. b. thouſand thouſand. b. C. furlonges and ſo runne forwardes keaping their diſtãce till they come nere the boundes of Media and Gordia. For the by little and little the further they go they drawe more nere together leuing les ſpace betwixte them. They enclofe of both ſids the coũtrey that is called Meſopotamia. from whence they runne through the bonds of Babilõ in the redde ſea. After Alexãder had chaunged hys campe foure tymes he came to a citie called Mennium wher as there is a fountaine without a caue: that boyleth out great plenty of pytche ſo it apeareth that the Babilonians had there cement from thence: which they employed about the making of their huge walles. As Alexãder was going frõ thence towardes Babilõ Mazeus which was ſaid before to haue fled from the battell. came to mete hym in moſte humble maner: where cõmitting hys children into his hands. yelded him ſelf. and rendred vp the cytie. Hys comming was very greate full vnto the kynge conſidering what trauayll he ſhoulde haue ſuſteyned in the ſyege of ſo ſtrong a Citie. if it had bene keapte agaynſt hym. And beſides forſomuchas Mazeus was a mã both famous and valient. & much noted for his doing in the laſt battel. thought his enſamble ſhould much prouoke others do to the like. For that cauſe he receyued both hym and hys childrẽ wyth gentil maner. and yet gaue order to hys men that they ſhould enter into the Cytye in

Tygre.

Euphrates.

Meſopotamia.

Mennium.

ſuch

suche aray of battaill as if they should fight. A great nõbre of the Babilonians stoode vpon the walles. desirous to behold him that was their new king. But the more parte went forthe to mete hym. Bagistenes. that was captayne of the castle. and keaper of the kynges treasour. because he would shewe hym selfe to be no lesse affectionate towardes Alexander than Mazeus was. strowed all the waies where he should passe. with flowers and garlãdes. and set aultets of siluer on both sides the waye. wherupon frankensence was burning. and all other kinde of swete odours. Next vnto hym came flockes of beastes. great nombres of horses wyth Lyons. and Pardalles caried in cages. which he brought to geue as presentes vnto Alexander. And after them the Magies singing according to their contrey manner. Caldees went next with their deuiners and prophetes. and then musicians wyth their kindes of instrumẽtes: their propertie was to singe the praises of kinges. And the Caldeis bled to declare the mocions of ♄ planetes. with the course & reuolucion of the time. Laste in ordre came the Babilonian horsemen. whose sumptuous furniture. both for them selues and their horses. tended more to voluptuousnes and delicacy. thẽ to any magnificence. Alexander that was enclosed about wyth armed men willed that the Babilonians should come behind his footemen. and he riding alone in his chariot entred into the cytie. and afterwardes into the palace. where the next daye he surueyed Darius threasure and riches. The beuty and pleasauntnes of that Citie gaue litle occasion to Alexander and such as were with him to wonder much vpon it. Semiramis was the builder therof and according to some mens opinion Belus. whose palaice is to be sene there.

Bagistenes.

The discripcion of Babilon.

Semiramis Belus.

The

The walles be made all of bricke set with pitche, whiche is called bytumen. And they be .xxvii. foote in bredth so that two cartes may easely go by̆ō them afront. They be in height .C. cubites. & the towers be .x. foote higher then the reste of the walles. The compasse of the about is .CCCIxviii. furlonges. being builded as it is left in memory in so many dayes. The houses stand the brede of an acre distaūt from the walles not builded through out the cytie, but only by the space of .iiii. score & .x. foo-lōges. and those not ioyned nere one to another but for some consideration deuided a sonder. The rest of the ground is sowed and tilled, to thintēt that if any foren powre cometh against them, thei should be able to be releued by the frute therof comyng. The ryuer of Euphrates doth ronne through the middes of the cittie and is kept in on both sides with walles of a wounderfull workmanship, but the great caues made of bricke, and in pitche in steade of morter wrought lowe within the ground to receiue the violence of the streame, do exceede all the relle of ỹ workes there made: for except the same were of quantitie and largenes to receiue the water when the streame floweth ouer the bankes that be made to kepe it in, the violēce therof shuld beate down the houses of the cittie. There is also ouer that ryuer a stone brydge, whiche ioyneth both partes of the cittie together: counted amonges the maruelous workes of the Orient. For by reason that Euphrates is so full of mudde and owle, ground can scarcely there be found to lay the foundacīō vpon. and the streame besides casteth vp such heapes of sande against the brydge, that it is an impediment for the water freely to passe, and therfore beateth vpon the brydge with greater force, then if it had his fre recourse. There is also a castle that is: ye

The Castel of Babilon.

forlonges about the towres, whereof be .xxx. foote deepe within the ground and .iiii. score foote in height above the ground. Where also the wōders are to be sene that are so often mencioned in the Greke poetis. For in the same be whole groues of trees set by wounderfull arte aboue the ground, so highe as the toppes of the towres, whiche be marueilous beutefull and pleasaunt through their height and shadowe that they make. The whole weight of them is susteined and borne by huge pillers made of stone, vpon whiche pillers there is a flourde of square stone, that both vpholde the earth that lieth deape vpō the same, & also ỳ humour wherewith it is watred. The trees ỳ growe therupon be of eight cubites about and as fruteful as though they grew in natural earth. And though proces of time is wont by little & little not only to destroy thinges made with hande, but also the very worckes of nature: yet this worcke, for all it is oppressed with the rootes of so many trees and burdened with the weight of so much earth, & of so great a wood, yet it remaineth vnperisshed in any point, being susteined vp with .xx. broade walles distāt .xl. foote one from another. Whē these trees be sene afarre of, they seame to be a wood growing vpon a mountaine. It is said ỳ king of Syria raigning in Babilō builded this worke for his wifes kansy, who for the loue she had to woodes and shadowe places, moued her husbād in doing therof to counterfeit the pleasauntnes of nature. Alexāder taried lenger here then in any other citie, whiche hurted more the discipline of the Macedons in their warres, thē any other place. For nothing was more corrupt thē the maners & customes of that citie, nor any other was more haboundantly furnisshed of al thinges, wherwith men be allured and slurred to excessiue pleasures. The parentes & husbādes are contēted for gaine, that their

The customes of the Babilonias

children

children. Ceteshaues contrary vnto their lawe & maners as came amonges thē. The kinges & nobilitie of Persie delite much in banqueting pastime, but the Babilonias be specially geuen therevnto to wyne and to drunkennes. wher the women vse such a custome, that in the beginning of the feast their apparel semeth womanly & demure, but afterwardes by little & little they put of the vppermost garmentes and layeng aside all shamefastnes do discouer thē selues naked. Whiche vile custome is not vsed by harlottes only, but by thē all in general whiche coūte the making of their bodies comely, but a cunnitie & good maner. In this voluptuousnes and abhomination the conquerour of Asia walowed by the space of. xxxiiii. dayes. wherby he became muche the weaker to haue done other enterpises if he had had an enemy to stand against him. But to thintent the harme he toke should be ỹ lesse perceiued, he encreased his power with a new supplie of mē. For Amintas the sonne of Andromenes brought him from Antipater .v. thousand Macedons footemen, and .v.C. horsemen, & with them .v.C. Traeian horsemen, with .iii.M. .v.C. footemen of the same nacion. He had also out of Peloponese .iiii.M. footemē & .iiii.C. .iiii.score horsmē being Mercenary souldiers. Amintas also brought with hym .L. young men of the nobilitie of Macedonia to attēde vpon Alexāders person: whose office was to serue the king at meat, to brig him his horse when he wēt to battel. They accustomed to be about hym when he hunted, and kept the watche by course at his chambre dore: These were they whiche afterwardes proued greate capitaines. and that was the race out of the whiche the rulers of their men of warre dyd come. Alexander appointed Agathon captaine of the castel of Babilon, with .vii. hundred Mace-

Amyntas came to Alexander with a new supplie of men.

Agathon.

Mynetas. Apollydorus.

dons and.iii.C. mercenary ſouldiers. & left Mynetas & Apollidonus gouernours of the citie and the countrey. to whome he aſſigned two.M. footemen and a.M. talentes. geuing them in commiſſion to wage more ſouldiers. He made Maxeus that gaue the citie into his hãdes. lieutenaunt of the whole. and cauſed Bagiſtanes that yelded vp the caſtle to folowe hym in his warres.

Armenia.

Armenia was geuen to Methrenes that betraied the citie of Sardes. and to encourage his ſouldiers to the enterpriſing of other thynges. gaue out of the treaſure of Babilon to euery Macedon horſemã. v.C. deneres. to euery horſeman of the ſtraungers. v. C. and to euery footeman two.C. When he had ſet order in all theſe thinges. he came into ỹ coũtrey called Atrapene which being plentiful of all thinges and haboundaunt of vitayle. cauſed the kyng to tary the lenger there. And leſt ſoleues ſhould be any abatement of his mennes courages. deuiſed to ſturre vp their ſpirites and kepe them occupied by appoincting iudges to trye out ſuch as had ſhewed themſelues moſte valiaunt in the warres. to whom he aſſigned rewardes due to their deſeruinges. There were eight found out. whoſe doinges appeared aboue the reſt. and euery one of thẽ was appointed the charge of a.M. men. and were called Chiliarchi: that was the firſt time that the ſouldiers were deuided into ſuche nõbres. for before they vſed. v.C. in a bãd which was not as they reputed for any preferment or reward of valiauntnes. The nombre of ſouldiers was greate that came to pleade their right in this behalf. and that before the iudges ỹ gaue ſentẽce brought in teſtimony of their doinges: So ỹ it could not be knowẽ which of thẽ had deſerued iuſtly ſuch honor or not. the firſt place was aduiged to old Adarchias. for his valiauntnes vſed in ỹ battail at Alicarnaſſon. where he chiefly did reſtore

The countrey of Atrapene.

Adarchias.

agayne

againe the fyght, when the young souldeers had gotten it ouer, the seconde place of honour was geuen vnto Ageneus & Philotas Angeus obteyned the third, the fourth was adiudged to Amyntas. The fyfte to Antigonus. Amintas the sonne of Lyncestes obtained the fyft. Theodotus the seuenth, and Bellacantheus the laste. Herupon to great purpose he altered many thynges that were vsed by his predecessours in the discipline of warre. For where as before the horsemen of euery countrey were in seuerall bandes by themselues, he without respect of any nation apointed to them suche captaines as he thought expedient. And where as at the remouing of his campe warning was accustomed to be geuen by a trompet, the sounde whereof in any mayne or tumulte could not be sufficiently harde. Therefore he caused an hyghe pale to be alwayes set before his pauilion, whiche upon remayned a sygne apparaunt to all men. The token that they obserued was fire in the nyghte & smoke in the daye tyme. As he was marchyng towardes Susa Abulites that was ruler of that region, either by Darius commaundement thynkyng by meanes of the spoyle to detayne Alexander the longer there, or els of his owne fre wyll sent his sonne against hym, proffe-ryng the deliuery of the cyte. The young man was entreated very gently, and by his conduction Alexander passed forwardes, till he came to the ryuer of Hydaspis, whiche is counted to be a very holsome water. Abulites there mette Alexander with plenty and riche giftes, and presented him amonges the reste of other thynges, Dromedary camels, that were wounderfull swyft, with xv. elephantes that Darius had sent for, out of India to be a terrour to the Macedons, which now were become an encrease of their strength, when the ri-

Abulites.

Hydaspis.

Susa ye chef cyte of Alexander found in credible treasours.

ches of the vanquished was come into the victorers handes. He found in ỹ citie an incredible treasure. .l. talentes of masly siluer ỹ was uncoyned: which riches gathered together in ỹ space of many yeares by diuers kinges for their successiō & posteritie, thus in a moment came into the hādes of a forein prince. Alexāder being lodged within the palaice did sit down in Darius seate whiche being higher then serued for his stature by reason his fete could not reche to the ground one of the kinges pages put a bord underneth for him to treade upō. At the doing whereof one of the Eunuches ỹ belonged to Darius loked heuely & fetched great sythe: whose fatnes when Alexander perceiued he enquired of him the cause. He answered ỹ when he beheld the bord whereupon Darius was wont to eate, employed to so base an vse, he could not beholde it without great grefe. Alexander being therfore ashamed so muche to misuse ỹ thing that before was had in suche a reuerence, caused the same to be taken away. Whereupon Philotas required hym not so to do but rather take it as a diuinaciō of his good lucke and fortune that the table whereupō his enemy did eate, should nowe become subiect vnder his fete.

Archilaus zenophilus.

Alexander purposing from thence to passe into Perseia committed the cyte of Susa to Archilaus with .iii. M mē of warre and to zenophilus the charge of the castle, leuing suche Macedons as were aged there in guarison. But he did betake the keping of the treasure vnto

Callicrates

Callicrates & restored to Abulites the gouernement & principalitie of the coūtrey of Susa, truing within the cyte Darius mother & his children. And forasmuch as Alexander had at the same tyme plēty of cloth of purple sent hym out of his coūtrey, with garmētes redy made after the Macedon maner for the honour he bare to

Susi-

Sisigambis (whome he had in reuerence as if she had bene his mother) thought good to present parte of those to her, with the persones that vsed to make them, and willed it should be told her if she liked them, that she should accustome her neces to make the lyke, and geue them for presentes. At the declaring of whiche message the teares ran out of her eyes, whiche declared the gift not to be acceptable to her. For the Persian wome take nothyng in more despite then to put their handes to wolle. When reporte was made to Alexander in what sorte she had receyued his present, thought both the matter meete to be excused and her to be comforted. Therfore he came to visite her & sayd: This garment which I were was both of the gifte & makyng of my subiectes: our customes brought me into error. Therfore I require you that ye will not take myne ignoraunce in euel parte. I trust that otherwise I haue obserued sufficiently all thynges whiche I knewe to be your customes. When I vnderstode that it was not lawfull amonges you, for the sonne to sit in the mothers presence except she doth geue hym leue, whensoeuer I came vnto your presence, I would neuer sitte til you willed me so to do: you would oftentimes haue fallen down & worshyp me. but I would not suffer you, but haue euer honored you and geuen you the name due to my swete mother Olimpiades. All thē the king with these wordes had well satisfyed her, he departed & by foure encāpinges came into a cyuer & the coūtreme cal Palatigras. which I pranging the moūtaines of ꝑ Vrsōs cōueth stepe down amonges ꝑ rockes vnto woody bākes by ꝑ space of .50. forlōges: but then descēding into a plain it becometh nauigable & so cōueth vnto a more quiet streame & in a softer grouṅ by ꝑ space of .vi.c. forlōgs. til such time as it doth ēter into

Alexanders excuse to Sisigambis or the present he sent her.

Palatigras

the Persian sea. Alexander passing this riuer with
nyne thousand footemē of the Macedons. with the A-
the vrions grians. the Mercenary Grekes and with .iiii. thousand
Thraciās. came amōges the Vrions. Whose countrey
is nere vnto Susis. and stretcheth out into Persia le-
Mabates. uing betwixt it and Susis a narowe streight. Ma-
bates had the rule of that countrey. who was such a man
as was rare at ỳ time. for he determed to abide the extre-
mitie for his duties sake. Such as knewe the countrey
did enforme Alexander that there was a plaine waye
through the hilles. whereby men might get to the farre
side of the chiefe citie that partayned to them. and if ỳe
would send a few that were light armed: thei might be
brought to a place. where thei should appere aboue their
enemies heades. This counsell liked him so well. that
he made the counceilers guydes. and committed them
Tauron. to Tauron. whome he apointed cheif of that enterpise
He assigned to him a thousād. v. c. mercenary soldiers
and a thousand Agrians. wyth whom after the sonne
was gone downe he entred into his iourney. Alexan-
der in the third watche remoued hys campe. and by the
springe of the daye had passed the streightes. There he
set his mē in hand to cut downe timbre for the making
of Towres and al other such thinges as pertayned to
the assault of a cytie. and so beganne his seige. It was
a difficult matter to make the approche. the cytie stode
so highe. and the rockes gaue such impediment. wher-
by the souldiers were repulsed. & receyued many bur-
tes. contending both with thenemyes and the Si-
tuation of the place. Notwithstanding they gaue it not
ouer. by reason the hope was euer amonges the fore-
moste. as hauing of them if they were not ashamed being
the Conquerours of so many cyties. to be so longe in

the

the winning of a smal castle that was so obscure & vnknowen to the world. As he was traueling amonges the rest they did shote and caste stones at him from the walles, whom the soulders defended with their targettes, because they could not remoue him away. At length Tauron apered aboue the castle of the cytie, at whose sight the enemies hartes fainted, and the Macedons the more fiercly did assayle them. When they sawe themself with this extremitie and perceaued they were not of power to withstand the Macedons, they became of diuers disposicions. For some were determined to dye, and many to flye awaye. But the greater parte retired them selues into the castle, from whence they sent vnto Alexander, iiii. Embassadours to aske mercy. But he gaue vnto them a sorowfull answere that there was no pardō to be obtained at his handes: wherupō being in doubt of death and excluded from all other remedies, sent vnto Sysigambes by a privy way vnknowne to their enemies, making their requeste that she would vouchsafe to be a meane to Alexander for the pacifieng of his wrath & wyll to murder thē. In her only they put their hope, knowing howe much Alexander loued her, & that he esteemed her as if she had ben his mother. And they thought she would the rather encline to their desire because Darius that was captaine there, had married her sisters daughter, who by her became a frend to Darius. Sysigambis stode longe in dentall of their requeste, thinking that it agreed not with her fortune to become an intercessor for others, addyng thereunto, that she feared lest she might mislike the victorers fauour, & make him worse of her for (she said) she had more remembrance that she was a prisoner then that she was a Quene. But at length she was

suet come with there suite. and by hir letters made intercession vnto Alexander after that soue that the fyfte excused hir self of her suite making and after requested him that he would pardon them of all the offe wales ȳ he would forgaue her that was petitioner but for the life only of such one as was hir frend and hyr kinsmā. and now no lenger any enemy to his maiestie but in dues to submit him self. This one matter is sufficient to declare the Moderation and clemency that was then in Alexander. For he dyd not only pardon Madates but also left the Citie vntouched graunting to all that were within it both libertie and fredom. with enioyment of their landes and goods. without paying of any tribute more then the which they could not haue obtayned of Darius being hir lorde. When he had thus subdued the Arions he annexed them to the prouince of Susa and purposing to passe forwards deuided his army into two partes. whereof he committed the one to Parmenio to be conuaied by the plaine contrey and returning such a parte as was pestered with bagage. take the way of the mountaines. whych with a continuall ridge comme out in length from thence into Perse. In his passage he destroyed all the mountaine countrey arriuing the third day in the bowndes of Persia. The fifte day he entred into ȳ streightes called Persidos. Ariobazanes kept the streight betwixt Susys and Persia. which were defended by Ariobarzanes with xx. M. foteme whokeping the toppes of the highe and steepe rockes ȳ hange ouer on both sides of the way. the fyfte keapt themselues quyet of purpose pretending a feare vntyll such time as the army was entered into the narowest of the streight. But when they sawe the Macedons passe onforwards in their contempte. then they threw downe great stones vpon them. whych falling

ling vpon the nether most cortes. and there remaining in peas rebounded amongs the Macedons. fel with greater violence. and differed hole bandes at ones. And besides that did the great damage which the stat-roones and stones that they did caste out of slinges. Suche as were men of courage were not so much greued with the death & destruccio that they saue their presence as that they shuld be slain after such a maner like beestes caught in a pitte. wher as they could not be reuenged vpon their enemies. Their wrath herevpon was turned into such a rage and wodnes. that they ran vpagainst the rockes. & ther enforced them selues by taking holde. and by heuing vp one of an other to mount vp into their enemies. But when they have caught hold & past some outward parte. and thereby labored to ascend. by force of so many handes that fastened to that ones. they pulled a sonder the thing they held by. and so fell downe all togithers. In this case they could neither stand passe forwards. nor yet defend them selues by any deuise that could make to their targetes. seing the stones were of such weight that were thrown down vpō thē. Alexāder was in great trouble of minde not only for ꝑ great he receaued by the defection of his me. but much more for the shame ꝑ he had so rashely brought his armi into such a daunger vnfraught he had bene inuincible before ꝑ date & neuer attempted thing in vaine. He had passed ꝑ straightes of Cilicia to out damage & opened to himself a newe way by sea into ꝑ Asphaltis. Wherby felicity of his semed the to be staied & plucked back. For he could perceue no other remedy thē to retourne by ꝑ way he came. he caused ꝑ retreit therfore to be blowen. & gaue order to his soldiers to go stole togeth & by casting their targets ouer their heads returne back again. after they had merched. xxx. forlōges vpon ꝑ streyte. when

When he was retourned and had planted his campe in an open ground he cõsulted what was best to doe. and therewith suche a superstition entred into his minde, that he called for the preestes and deuiners to healpe herein by their inuocation. But Aristander, to whoome he gaue moste confidence, could do nothing in the case, so that Alexander condempning their sacrifices which he thought then done out of tyme, called for suche as knewe the coũtrey: They shewed him of an other way that was playne and open enough. but he lyked it not, he was so ashamed to leue his fouldiers buburied. ỹ were slayne. For amonges al other ceremonies obserued in the discipline of their warres, there was none more religiously kept then the burieng of the dead. He caused therefore suche prisoners as were lately taken to be called before him amonges whom there was one experte both of the Greke and Persian tongue, whiche shewed to ỹ kyng ỹ he laboured in vayne, if he thought to conuoy his army ouer the toppes of those mountaines whiche (he sayd) beginne at mount Caucasus, and sloped in the one syde of Perse by the space of .M. bi. C. furlonges in length and .Cix. in breadth, tyll suche tyme as they come vnto the sea, which also encloseth the coũtrey from the place where the mountaines ceased. The countrey lyeng at the foote of the mountaynes, he described to be playne, fruteful, and replenysshed with many faire cyties and villages, and that the ryuer of Araxes, Araxes, running through the same, falleth into another ryuer called Medus, bringing with it the waters of many smale streames. Which ryuer of Medus being muche lesse then the same which it doth ouerpasse, runneth from thence towardes the south sea. No place could be more aboundant of grasse, for euerery where

The description of the kreyte & the coũtrey therunto adioyning.

Araxes, Medus.

nere vnto the water. the gronnde was couered ouer wyth flowres. The riuer was shadowed ouer wyth plantyne and popie trees. which by reason they stande somwhat highe. and the water ronne lowe in a deps chanell: seme to such as be a farre. to be woodes adioynning to the Mountains. He counted no contrey in al Asia tobe more holsome. or to haue more temperat ayer then thys. both by reason of shadowing mountein that euermore defendeth the heate. and also of the sea which on the parte being at hand with a certeine temperature doth nourishe the ground. When the prisoner had made a descriptiō of the contrey after this maner. the kinge enquired of hym whither he knewe those thinges by hearing say. or els had sene them with hys eyes. He sayde. that he had bene an herdman & knewe the contrey verie well and al the wayes thither. And that he had bene twise taken prisoner. ones by Persās in Licia. and now the second time by hym. Upon those wordes Alexander called an oracle to memorye. wherbyit was signified to him that a Lician shou d be hys guide into Persee. Wherfore promising to him suche rewardes as the present necessitie required. & as hys estate was mete to receiue. willed him to be armed after the Macedons maner. and wyth good spede to go shewe on the waye. Which though he had declared to be but streight and difficult. yet Alexāder put no doubt to passe it wyth a fewe mē. except any thought (he said) that Alexander would not attempte that thyng for to wynne glorye and perpetuall commendacion that the herdman had done often tymes in feading of his beastes. Thē the prisoner left not to alledge the difficulties of the waye. specially for such as ware armoure. Then the kinge said: Take me for suertie that neuer one of them that be appoynted to the. shall refuse to go. where

thou

Craterus. thou shalt passe. That done he left Craterus with the charge of his campe. and he hym self passed forwardes with suche fotemen as were accustomed to his person.

Meleager. with those bãdes of whom Meleager had charge. and a thousãd Archers on horsback. taking first ordre with Crateus that he should kepe his cãpe in such forme as it had bene vsed before. & cause many fiers to be made of purpose. ỹ the enemies might ỹ rather think. hym to be there stil present. aduising him further ỹ if Ariobatzanes should get knowlege of his enterprise. & send part of his powre to stop his passage. ỹ thẽ Craterus should shew al ỹ terror they could to cause him cõuert thẽ self to the defence of the daunger ỹ was next at hand. But if he should deceiue his enemye & recouer the hil vpon hym. that then vpon the hearing of the alarome in the Persians campe. preparing thẽ selues to his resistaũce he should not doubt to passe that way from which they wer repulced the day before. wher he iudged thei should find no resistaunce. the enemies being conuerted towards him. In ỹ third watch he set forwardes in great silẽce. without blowyng of trompet. & passed on by such way as was shewed him by the guide. Euery souldier that was lyght armed carieng thre dayes vitaile. But when he was on his way. besides the wild rockes and sharpe stones. that caused them oft fayle their foting. the snowe also driuen wyth the wynd. was a great impediment to them in their iourney. For they fell diuers tymes downe into pittes. and suche as coueted to pull them out were oft times drawen after. The night also wyth the countrey vnknowne. and the guide of whose fidelitye they doubted. encreased muche their feare. considering that if they should not deceiue their enemies watch. they should be taken like beastes. they

wayed

wayed also that both the sauegard of them. and of the king lay in the handes of one that was a prisoner. At length they came to a mounteyne. wher as the way towards Ariobarzanes lay on the right hād. Thē he sent before by the guiding of such as they had taken prisoners. Philotas. Cenon. Amintas. & Policarpon wyth a band of the lightest Armed. whom he aduised that forasmuch as they had both horsemē and fotemen. and the coūtrey fertell and habound of fodder. that they should make no haste but passe forwardes fayre & easely. And he with the esquiers of his body. & the band of horsemē that they called Agema. was guided by another bipath farre of frō ỳ place wher his enemies kept their watch But the way was so streight and so depe. ỳ thei suffred great trouble & veracīō in passing therof. It was middaie & they were so wearied. that of necessitie they must take reste. for they had so farre to go as they had trauailed all redy. sauing that the waye was not so difficult nor so roughe. He refreshed therefore his men wt meat & with sleape. & in the secōd watche. did rise vp & passed the reste of hys iourney without any great difficultie. Sauing in ỳ part where the mountayne begāne to fall aslope towards the plaine. their passage was sodeinly stopped. by a great gull made with the violence of the streames that ranne downe the mountains. by wearing away of ỳ earth. And besids the trees stāding so thick. & the bowes that grewe one within another appeared before thē as a cōtinual hedge. whē they saw theselues stated after this maner. such desperatiō fel amōges thē ỳ thei could scarsly abstain frō teares. The darknes being a great encrease of their terror. seing thei could not enioy any benefit of ỳ starres. For if any gaue light. ỳ same was takē away by ỳ shadow of ỳ trees. And ỳ vie

of

of the eares could not serue for one to receiue counsel and comforte at an other. the wynd whyrled so amõges the leaues. and the shakyng of the bowes made such a noyse. But at length the daie which they so much desired. demynished wyth his lighte the terrors that the darknes of the night did make. For by fetchyng of a little compasse about. they passed the holow gylle. and euery man began to be aguide. Finally they got vp in the toppe of the hille from whence they might beholde their enemies lieng in campe. Thẽ the macedons shewed them selues stoutly in their armour. appering fodeinly on their backes. when they mistrusted no suche thyng. and there slewe suche as came fyrste to encountre wyth them. So that on the one parte the greuous noyse of them that were slayne. and the miserable showt of suche as ran in for succour amonges their owne companye. put the rest to flyght without makyng any resistaunce. When the alarome was once hard in the camp wher Craterus lay. the army by and by passed forwards to go through the streightes in the which they were repulsed the day before. Philotas also who with Policarpõ Cenos and Amyntas were gone the other waye arriued at the same tyme and gaue a further terror vnto their enemies. whẽ the Persies sawe ther enemies agreeing in al partes at ons. though they were so oppresst wyth their sodaine inuasion that at the fyrst they were in doubt what to do. yet at length they assembled to githers and fought notably: Necessitie flying vp the faintnes of their hartes. For oftentymes dispaire is cause of mennes good hope. They being vnarmed. closed with them that were armed. and wyth the weyght of their bodies drewe their enemies to the earth and killed diuers with their owne weapõs

Arriba-

Arrobarzanes with fourty horsemen, & fiue thousand
footemē that kept about his persone, brake through the
battaill of the Macedons. to the great slaughter both
of his owne men and of his enemies. & by making of
haste recouered Persepolis the chiefe citie of the coun-
trey. But when he was excluded from thence by them
that were within, he tenued againe the fight with such
as were with him. & so was slayne: by ꝑ time Craterus
that made all the spede he could deuise, was come vnto
them. Alexander fortefied his campe in the same place
where he did discomfite his enemies. For though they
were all fled, and he certaine of the victory, yet because
he found his way stopped in many places with great
and deape diches, he thought good to vse circumspec-
tion, and not to make ouer great haste, not so much
for feare of his enemies force, as of the nature of the
ground whiche he sawe apt for them to worke policie
against hym. As he was passing forwardes, he recey-
ued letters from Tyridates the keaper of Darius Tyridates
treasure, signifieng that the inhabiters of Persepolis
hearyng of his cōmyng were about to spoyle the trea-
sure, and therfore he should make haste to preuent the
matter, for the way was ready enough, notwithstāding
that the ryuer of Araxes was in his way. There was
no vertue in Alexander more commendable then his
celeritie, whiche he shewed in this matter. for leuyng
his footemen behynd, trauayled all nyght with his hor-
semen, and by the daylyght came to the ryuer of Ara-
pos. There he found villages at hande, wherof the
tymber they brake downe of the houses, a bridge was
made in a moment, by the helpe of stones whiche were
layde in the foundacion. When Alexander was passed
the riuer, and came nere vnto the citie, a company met

him so miserable. as seldome haue bene found in any memory: the same were Grekes to the nombre of .iiii. thousande. whome the Persians before time had taken prisoners & afflicted with diuers kyndes of tormẽtes. For of them some had their feete cut of. some their handes. & other their eares. but all were marked in the flesh with hote yrons. Whõ the Persians mayming & deformyng after this maner had kept & reserued amõges them. as a memory of the despite towardes the nacion. But when thei sawe þ they should become vnder the obediẽce of another prince. they suffred the Grekes to mete Alexãder. Thei appeared rather to be the Images of some straunge mõsters. then of me. For nothing could be discerned or knowen in them but their voice. The compassion of their wretched estate caused the beholders to let fall no fewer teares. then they did thẽselues. For it could not appeare whiche of thẽ were moste miserable. though their afflictions were diuers. But whẽ they cried out before Alexãder that Iupiter the reuẽger of Grece had opened their eies in beholding him that shuld deliuer thẽ: they iudged then all their greefes as one. Alexander wiped the teares from his eyes. and willed them to be of good chere. for that they shuld both see their countrey and their frendes. & he encamped in the same place. where he mette thẽ. being two leages from Persepolis. The Grekes drue themselues together to consult what was beste for them to demaũde of Alexander. and when some were of opinio to aske dwelling places within Asia. & others had more minde to retourne vnto their coũtreis: Enteneon Cimeus spake thus vnto them. We that were euen nowe ashamed to shew our heades out of the prison & darkenes we were in. to make suite for our own aide and relief. or become

Persepolis.

Enteneons oracion.

of suche

of such simplicitie that we presently desire to shew vnto Grece as a pleasant spectacle our infirmities & maymes. wherof we haue as much cause to be ashamed. as to be sorowfull. you must thinke that suche beare their miseries best. which can finde the meanes to hide them moste. & that there is none so familier a countrey to mē that be vnfortunate as solitarines and forgetfulnes of their former estate. For they whiche make an accopt of their frendes pitie & compassion. know not howe sone their teares will drie vp. no creature can loue faythfully whome they abhorre. For as calamitie of his nature is querelous. so felicitie is always proude. & euery one doth vse to cōsider his own fortune. when he determineth of an other mans. For except we had all bene in myserie. one of vs long ago had bene wery of an other. What mervayle is it then though men infelicitie seke always their equalles. My opinion is therfore that we as mē which be long ago were as dead in this lyfe. seke vs a place wherein we may hyde our maymed members. and where eyle may hyde our horryble scarres. For if we shall retourne vnto our countrey. beyng in this case. we cannot be but vngrateful to our wyues. whom we maried young. shall our chyldren. shall our brethren acknowledge vs. beyng pylon slaues? and though all thynges should there succede as we would wyshe. yet there be but a small nombre of vs able to trauayll through so many countreys? Howe is it possible for vs that be here banysshed into the vttermoste bondes of the Orient. aged. impotent. and maymed. to suffre those thynges. whiche haue tyred men then were in force and victorious. It is to be ared what shal become of our wyues whome chaunce and necessitie hathe

gotten vnto vs here for the only comforte of our misonement: what shall we do with our children we haue begotten here: take them with vs. or leue them behinde vs: If we returne with suche as we haue here. none of those in Greece will acknowledge vs. and shall we then be so madde to leue those comfortes we haue already, being vncertayne whether we shall come to those that we seke or no: Verely muche better it were for vs. to hyde our selues amonges them whiche haue bene acquainted with vs in our mysery. These were Eutemon wordes: But Theatus of Athens, reasoned to the contrary. There is no creature (qō he) in whome remaineth any sparke of goodnes. that will esteme vs by our outward shape. seyng that our calamitie is not come of nature. or by our own deseruyng, but through misfortune. and our enemies crueltie. and suche as be ashamed of fortunes chaunses. are well worthy to suffer misaduenture. They geue a greuous sentence vpon the estate of mans mortalitie, & dispaire muche of mercy. that deny their cōpassion to mē in misery. Now therfore since the goddes haue offered to you the thing whiche ye durste neuer haue wished for: that is your countrey. your wiues. & your childrē. being the thinges whiche men esteme more then lyfe. & redeame oftentymes with death: why do you doubt for the enioymēt of thē to breake out of this imprisonemēt: I iudge ỹ ayer of our own countrey moste naturall to vs. where methinkes is an other maner of beholding ỹ light. other customes. other religiō. & another maner of tonge. whiche for ỹ pleasantnes is coueted of the barbareus nacions: what great thinges therfore be those that ye would willingly leaue. ỹ wāte of which only is ỹ cause of your misery. My opinio is plain ỹ we visite our countrey & our

Theatus wordes.

and not refuse so great a benefite as Alexander hath proffered vs. and if any be so detained with the loue of suche wifes & children as they haue gotten here in seruitude. let suche be no impediement to others. that of al thinges esteme most their natural countrey. There were but few of his opiniō. for custome that is of greater force then nature preuailed in that matter. They agreed to demaunde of Alexander that he would geue vnto them some place to inhabite in. and there choſed out an hundred to be suters vnto hym in that behalfe. whome when Alexander perceiued coming towardes hym. thynking that they would haue required the thing that he conceiued in his minde. I haue apointed to you (qō he) beastes to cary you. and to euery one a. M. denires. and when you shal come to Greece. I wil so dofor you. þ excepting your misfortune. no other shall thinke themselues in better case then you. But when he sawe them loke stil towardes the ground. and that they neither lifted vp their countenances. nor did speake. he enquired the cause of their heuines. Then Entemon rehearsed again those thinges in effect which he had spoken before in counsel. The king therfore pitieng no lesse their demaunde then he did their misfortune. cōmaunded. iii. M. deneres to be geuen to euery one of them. & garmentes besides with shepe. cattell. and corne. wherby they might till and sowe the lande that should be appointed vnto them. The next day he assembled all the captaines of his army togethers. and shewed thē that there was no citie more enemy to the Grekes. then the same that was the chief seage of the auncīēt kinges of Perce. from whence all the great armies had bene sent into Greece. and howe Darius first. & after Xerxes had come out of that place to moue their vnruli warre

against Europe with the destruction of whiche cytie he thought good to reuenge their predecessours. Thinha biters had abandoned the cittie, & fled where feare dyd driue thē. Wherupon the king streight wayes brought in all his footemen to the spoyle therof. He had before that time wonne many cities, some by force, & some by composicion, that were full of substaūce, & princes treasure. But the ryches of that cittie, did exceide all the rest, as in the places where the Persiās had layd their whole substaunce. Gold and siluer was there fou̇d in heapes, and great plenty of ryche vestures and furnimentes of houses, not only for necessitie and necessary vse, but for excesse and ostentacion, whiche was so great that it gaue the victourers occasion to fight amonges them selues, ere the takyng other for enemies that had gotten the rychest spoyle. The plenty there was suche, that they could not employe to their vse the ryches they found, but when they sawe thynges of value, esteemed them rather then take them away. Till suche time that euery one couetyng to haue a parte of euery thyng tare and brake a sonder the princely robes, and the precious vessels of curious workemanshyp, and the Images of gold and syluer were either beaten in gobetes or plucked in peces, as euery one caught holde: nothing was left vntouched, nor nothing caried away whole. Cruelte bare no lesse rule there then couetousnes, euery one was so laden with gold and siluer, that they esteamed not the keping of prisoners, but killed suche as they first spared in hope of gayne. There were many therefore that preuented their enemies handes with voluntary death, and diuerse that clothyng them selues in their moste precious apparell, leaped downe from the walles with their wyfes and children. Certayne there

The taking of Persepolis.

were

were that set their owne houses on fyer, (whiche they iudged their enemies woulde els haue done shortely after) because they would burne themselues amonges their owne family. At length the kyng dyd forbyd any violence to be done to women, and that no man should medle with any thyng pertayning to them. The some of money taken within this Cytie, was greater then any man can well credite: but eyther we muste doubte of the reste or els beleue that hath benefette in memory howe that the treasure there found, amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand talentes: whiche treasure because that Alexander purposed to employ in his warres, caused horse and camels to be brought from Sulis and Babilon to cary the same. The taking of the Cytie of Persagadis, wherein was founde fyue thousand talentes, was an encrease to this some, whiche Cytie beyng buylded by Cyrus, was yelded vp by Gobares that had the kepyng therof. Alexander lefte in the castle of Persepolis, the thousand Macedons in guarrison vnder Nycarides, capitaine of the same, and reserued to Tiridates that deliuered hym the treasure, the same honour that he enioyed with Darius. Leuing in this cytie the greater parte of his army with his cariages vnder the rule of Permenio and Craterus. He with a thousand horsemen and a band of footemen without any bagage, went to visite in the winter season the inward partes of Perse. There he was vexed & troubled with shoures & tẽpestes ỹ were in maner intollerable: but yet he letted not to go forwardes in his enterprise to ỹ place ỹ he appointed. In his iourney he came vnto a cõtrey ỹ was couered all with snowe & the same also frosen by force of the could.

The treasure taken at Persepolis.

Persagades

Gobares.

Nycarides.

The wildnes and desert maner therof. put the souldiers that were wered of trauail in such a feare and terror. that they imagened to haue sene the vttermoste boũdes of the world. For when they beheld all thinges waste. and no signe appearing of habitaciõ of man. they were amased. and made requeste to returne againe. before that the light and the elementes should fail them. The king would not chastice them being in this terror but leped frõ his horse. and went one fote in the snow and ice. Which thing whẽ his frẽdes sawe. they could not for shame but folow. then the captaines did the like and finally the souldiers. The kyng was the first that did breake the ice and made him selfe away. whose ensample the reste did folowe. At length hauing passed the woodes that were without way. thei foũd here and there some appearaunce of habitacion and perceyued flockes of shepe. When thinhabitours that dwelled in Cotages dispersed there aboutes. sawe men cõming. whome they iudged to be their enemies. thinking they had bene enclosed about. slew such as were not able to folowe them and fledde. to the wild mountains that were ful of snowe. But at length by cõmunicatiõ with such as they toke pr̃isoners. their wildnes was sõwhat mitigated. & they yelded them selues to Alexander. whõ he hurted not any kind of way. Whẽ he had destroied all that parte of Perce. & brought the townes vnder his obedience. he came into ỹ countrey of ỹ warlike Mardõs. whiche differed much frõ the rest of ỹ other Persians in their maner of their liuing. They with their wiues and children dyd inhabite within caues in the mountaines. and liued wyth the flesshe of shepe. & wyld beastes. Nor ỹ womẽ accordyng to their kind had any more appearaũce of meknes or mildnes thẽ the men. either in they͂r personages or dispositions. But their curled

The Wardons.

heere

heere did hang downe before vpon their faces and their garmentes came but to their knee The band of theyr slinge was a fyllet for their forehead. whyche they vsed both for ornament and for defence. This nation for al their vnequill and rude maner, could not escape to be subdued with the same force of fortune ꝑ others were. So that the. xxx. daie after he departed from Persepoles he returned thither againe. Then he gaue rewardes to his frēdes & to al the reste according to their deseruing, distributing in a maner al his riches which he found within that cytie. But al his excellēt vertues of the mind his princely qualities wherin he excelled al kinges. both that constancy in al daungers & perilles. ꝑ celeritie in deuising & perfourming his enterprises. his promis keaping towards ꝑ yelden. his clemēcie towardes prisoners & that tēperaūce in lawful & accustomable pleasures: were all defaced through the intollerable desire & delite he had in drinking. For notwithstanding that his enemie which cōtended with him for thempire. did chiefly then prepare for the warres. and was gathering of his power togethers. and though the people newly cōquered had not receiued quiet subiection. yet he gaue him selfe continually to feasting and banqueting. wher womē were euer presēt. but not such to whō mē had respect of honestie. but harlotes whyche had there more libertie. then was beseming in the cōpany of men of warre. And amonges thē ther was one Thays. who vpō a daie in her dronkenes. affirmed to Alexāder that he should wonderfully winne the fauor of the Greakes. if he would commaund the palaice of Persepoles to be set on fire. The distruction wherof (she said) they greatlie desired. forasmuch as the same was the chief Seate of the kinges of Perce. which in Thays.

tymes

tymes paste had distroyed so many great Cities. Whe the dronken harlot had giuen hir sentence: there were other present who being likewise dronken cōfirmed hir wordes. Alexander then that had in him more enclinacion of heate then of pacience. said: whi do we not then reuenge Greece and set this Citie on fire. They were al chafed with drinking & rose immediatly vpon those wordes to burne that citie in there dronkennes. which the men of warre had spared in their fury. The king him self first. and after his gestes. his seruauntes and his concubines set fier in the palaice. which being builded for the moste parte of cedre trees. became sodeinly in a flame. When the army that was encamped nere vnto the citie saw the fire. which they thought had ben kendled by some casualty. came ronning to quench the same again. But when thei sawe the king ther present nothing of the fire, they powred downe the water which they brought. and healped likewise the matter forwardes. Thus the palaice that was the hedde of the whole Orient. from whence so many nacions before had fetched their lawes to liue vnder. The seate of so many kinges ỹ only terror somtyme of Greece. The same that hath bene the sender forth of the Nauies of .x. thousand shippes. & of the armies that ouerflowed all Europe that made bridges ouer the Sea. and vndermined mountaines where the sea hath nowe hys course: was cōsumed and had his end. and neuer rose againe in all the age that did ensue. For the kinges of Macedon vsed other cities which be now in the Parthians handes. The destruccion of this citie was such that the foundacion thereof at this daye coulde not be found. but that the riuer of Araxes doth shew where it stode. Which was distant frō persepolis .xx. furlonges

The distruccion of Persepoles.

as the

as the inhabitātes rather do beleue then knowe. The Macedons were ashamed that so noble a Cytie was destroyed by their king in hys drōkenes: yet at length it was turned into an earneste matter. and were content to thynke it expedient that the Cytie should haue bene destroyed after that maner. But it is certeine that when Alexander had taken his reste and was become better aduised he repented hym of his doing and sayed: That the Persians should haue doone the Greakes more harme if it had ben his chaunce to haue reigned in Persys sted. The next daie he gaue .xxx. talentes for a rewarde to him that was his guide into Perse, and from thence he toke his iourney into Media. Media.

where a new supplie of souldiers of whom Plato (of Athens had the conduccion) came to him out of Cilicia being .v.c. footemē and a thousand horsemen. Whē he had by this meanes encreased his powre. he determined to pursue Darius. who was come to Ecathana the hedde citie of Media. & was purposed from thence to haue passed into Bactria. But fearing to be preuented by the spede his enemies made. altered his purpose and his iourney. Alexāder was not come nere hym by a .M. .v.c. forlōg but he could not thynk any distāce sufficiēt to defend him against his celeritie & therfore prepared him self rather to fyghte then to flie. He had wt him xxx. M. footemen. amōge whō ther were .iiii. M. grekes whose fidelitie neuer failed in al his aduers fortūe He had also .iiii. M. archers & Slingers. & besides .iii. thousand .iii.c. Bactrian horsemen. whith were vnder Bessus charge being gouernour both of ỹ citie of Bactria and the contrey. Darius with his hand withdrue a litell from the highe waye. and commaundyng the verlets & such as had charge of the carryag to passe on

Ecathana.

before.

Darius woordes.

before.called a counsell and spake these woordes vnto them. If fortune had matched me with cowardes. and with suche as estemed any kynde of lyfe. before an honest death. I would rather haue holden my peace. then consume my woordes in vaine: But I haue had greatre experience then I would wyshe both of your valiaunt courage and fidelitie towardes me. So that I for my parte ought rather labour to seme worthy to haue suche frendes as you are. then to doubte whether ye yet remaine thesame men towardes me that ye were before. For of so many thousandes that were vnder myne empire. you are those that haue folowed and sticked by me. when I haue bene twyse ouerthrowen in the field. & twyse enforced to flye away. your fidelitie & your constancy maketh me thinke that I remayne still a kyng. Traitours and fugitiues reigne in my cyties. not for that they be thought worthy of suche honour. but that you myght be prouoked by their rewardes to reuolte against me. Notwithstanding. you haue chosen rather to folowe me in my misfortune. then be partakers of the victoryes felicitie. you are worthy. whome the Goddes shall reward (if I may not) as vndoubtedly they wyll. There can no posteritie be so silent. nor no fame so vngrateful. which shal not with due cõmendaciõs extolle you to the sterres. Though I was determined still to haue fled. whereũto my harte neuer agreed: yet now I haue conceyued suche a truste of your vertue and manhode. that I purpose to passe against myne enemies. Howe long shall I be banished within myne owne dominion. from a straunge and a forein prince: and flye within the boundes of myne owne kingdome. when I may by hasarding of the battaill, either recouer that I haue loste. or els dye an honest death: Except peraduen-

ture

ture it semeth better to some me that I should submit my self to enemies will, and by thensample of Mazeus and Bitheenes, to receiue by petition the dominion of some one nacion. Wherin I suge that Alexander had rather folowe thinclinacyon of his glorie then of hys wrath. No, let the gods neuer graunte that it may lye in any mans powre, eyther to take awaye, or gyue vnto me, thys Headeame vpon my hede, nor that I lose this Empire so longe as I remaine on liue. For in this I am determined that my breath and my kingdome, shall end both togither. If this mynd remayne in you, and if thys lawe be grafted in your hartes, their is none of you that can want libertie, their is non that shalbe compelled to endure the brkesomnes of your enemies, nether their proud porte, nor their stately lokes. For euery mans ryght hand shall giue vnto hym self either a reuenge, or an end of all thes euils. Nothing can stand long in one stay. I my selfe am ensample of the alteracion of fortune, nor it is not without cause that I loke for a better change. And if the worst fall that the gods wyll neds be againste vs in our warres that be lauful and honeste, yet it cannot be taken from vs but that we may alway manfully and honestly dye. I require and make intercession to you by the honor of our predecessors that with suche fame and glory possessed the kingdomes of the hole Orient, by thoe me to who Macedon sometyme was tributarie, by so many nacies of shyps sent into Greece, and by so many victories wonne, that ye wyll take suche courage and hart vnto you, as may seme worthy your nobilitie and your nacion. So that with the same constaneie of minde wherwith ye haue endured thinges passe, ye wyll proue and attempte what soeuer chaunge send to you hereafter.

For

For I am resolued for my part to get my self perpetual fame either by the victorie or by the notable aduenture I will giue for the wynning therof. When Darius had spoken theis wordes the representacion of the present perill so amasyd them all that they were not able either to shew there aduise or to speake a worde to the matter til such tyme as Artabazus the most auncient of his frendes which before tyme had bene with king Philip began to say hys sawcie; We are come into the felde (quod he) with you that is our king in our most precious apparell and richest armoure with the entent to win the victorie and if necessitie require not to refuse death. To whose wordes the reste with ther voice semed to agre. Hauing Nabarzanes who being present in that counsell with Bessus and of hys opynion conspired a treason so wonderful that the like hath seldome ben hard of before. Their determinacion was by force of the souldiers they had vnder their charge to put ther kinge in hold. With this purpose that if Alexander pursued them to deliuer him then aliue into his hades for to wynne therby his fauor as a thing which they thought he would esteame greatly. But if they could escape conueniently then they were in mynde to kyll Darius and deuiding the kyngdome betwixt them renue againe the warre against the Macedons. They hauing imagened this treason long before in their mind Nabarzanes thoughte this an occasion to make a preparatiue to his wicked intent by a persuasion which he their vttered. I knowe (quod he) that I shall speake the thing which in the firste apparaunce shall not be grateful vnto your eares but phesitions vse to cure deseases that be greate with sharpe & bitter medycines and the shipmaisters whe they fear a shipwracke accustume

Artabazus.

Nabarzanes wordes.

to

to redeame ſuch thinges as may be ſaued. with the diſ-
truction and loſſe of the reſte. But thys matter that I
meane is no perſuaſion to loſſe. but a deuice by what
meanes ye may preſerue your ſelf & your kingdome.
We make a warre wherin the gods ſeme manifeſtly to
be againſt vs. and fortune ceaſeth not obſtinatly to per-
ſue vs. It is nedefull therfore that we lay new foũda-
cions. & ſeke out men which haue other fortune. My
opinion is therefore that you deliuer vp your kingdom
vnto ſome mãnes hãdes. which ſhal haue the name of
king. ſo longe as your enemies remaine within Aſya.
And when they be once departed (which my minde ge-
ueth me to be ſhortly) he ſhal reſtore the ſame vnto you
againe. The countrey of Bactria is yet vntouched: the
Indians & Sacans be at your apointement. ſo many
people. ſo many armes. ſo many thouſandes of horſe-
men & fotemẽ haue their force in redines to renue this
warre again. So yᵗ a muche greater force remaineth
then yᵗ which is conſumed. Why do we then like beaſtes
wilfully runne to a diſtruction that is not neceſſary?
It is yᵗ propertie of ſuch as be men of courage. rather to
diſpiſe death then hate the life. and oftentymes by we-
tines of trauayll cowardes are driuen to take little
regarde of them ſelues. But vertue leaueth nothing
vnprouided. So that death beynge the ende of all
thynges it is ſufficient if we goo not to yᵗ lyke ſlug-
gardes. Therefore if we ſhal go vnto Bactria which
is now our next refuge: let vs for the times ſake make
Beſſus king. who is alredy ruler of yᵗ countrey. & whē
yᵗ matters be once brought to ſome ſtate. he ſhal reſtore
to you thempire againe as to the righteouſe king. Al-
though Darius preuied not yᵗ greatnes of the miſchief
that laye hidden vnder hys wicked wordes yet was it

no

no meruaill though he could not obtayne. He turned towardes him. and ſaid: thou vile ſlaue haſt thou now found out a time mete to diſcloſe the treaſon that lyeth in thy harte. and therwyth all pulled out hys ſworde to haue ſlaine him if Beſſus had not ſtraight waye come and the other Bactrians about him and letted his purpoſe they pretendyd to be ſory for the matter. But mindid in very dede to bind him if he had continued in his purpoſe. In the meane ſeaſon Nabarzanes eſcaped away. and Beſſus folowed after. who imedialy dyd ſeperate the bandes they had charge of from the reſt of the armye. becauſe they would vſe them apart to their purpoſe. Whē thei were departed Artabazus framed his talke according to the ſtate of the time then preſent and beganne to pacifie Darius wyth wordes putting him in remembraunce howe hys caſe was ſuche. that it behoued hym to beare quietly the folyſhnes. or rather the error of hys own men: For aſmuch as Alexander was at hande. ouer ſore an enemy for thē though there were no diſcord nor diſobedience. But if we ſhalbe at variaunce (qō he) when he doth purſue vs. our matters ſhal ſtand in very euil plight. Thereupō Darius enclyned ſome what to Artabaſus aduiſe. & though he was determined to remoue. yet becauſe he pardoned euery man to be troubled in mind. remained ſtill in the ſame place. But he him ſelfe was ſo aſtoined with ſorowe and deſperatiō that he kept him ſelf cloſe and came not forth of his pauilion. wherupon the campe being without gouerment. the hedes not conſulting togither as they did before. there roſe amonges them great diuerſitie of opynions. and motions of mynd. Which thing when Patron ſawe that was capetaine of the Greake ſouldiers he wylled his men to put on their armour. to

be in

be in a redines to do as they should be appointed. The Persyans encamped by them selues, and Bellus remained amonges the Bactrians, practising to carry away the Persians into Bactria, and to leue Darius: signifieng to them the riches of that region yet vntouched and the perill they were in if they remayned still. But they were al in maner of one opynion that it was ouer great an offence for them to forsake their prince. In the meane season Artabasus reuoked the kinges offence and went amonges the Persians in their lodginges admonishing and exorting them, sometyme a parte, and otherwhile all togithers. and left them not before it apeared that they would do as the king would haue them. That done with great payne & difficulte he persuaded Darius to take hys meate and to set hys mynd vpon hys busines. But Bellus and Nabarzanes were so greedy to get the gouernement into their handes that they resolued to put in execution the thing they had longe conspired betwyxt them. For so longe as Darius was in sauegard they could not hope to compasse nor atteine so great powre and authorite. The maieste of a king is had in so great veneracio amonges those nations that at hys beste hande they be redy to assemble togither. And the reuerens of Darius former fortune caused them to beare the like obedience to him in his aduersitie. The greatnes and powre of the countreies whereof Bellus and Nabarzanes had the rule, not being inferior to any other nations in that parte of the world either in armour men or largenes of their territory gaue a great encouragement vnto their wicked ambicious pretences in attempting of this matter. Which possessing the third part of Asia were able to make as great nombre of men as Darius before had lost. In confi-

dence wherof they not only despised Darius, but Alexander purposing when they were once become lordes of that countrey to reenforce from thence againe the powre of theempire & maintene the warres against the Macedõs. Whe they had long deuised & debated these thinges, they determined to take Darius by ỹ Bactriã souldiers, which were at there cõmandiment, & then to send word to Alexander that they reserued him on liue to deliuer him vnto his hãdes. And if so be that Alexãder should not accept their doing, (whiche in deede they doubted) then ther purpose was to kill Darius, and with their powre to flie into Bactria. But forsomuche as they sawe, that Darius could not be taken openly, seing there were so many thousãdes redy to aide him, And fearinge also the fidelitye of the Greakes determined to worke by sleight the thing that they could not bring to passe by force. Their deuise was to counterfeit a repentance of their former doinges in excusing vnto the king the feare they were in. And in the mean season they sent certaine to practise with the Persians, & to proue their mindes. The souldiers were tossed to & fro with hope and feare. Sometime they thought that by leauing of ther king, they should cõmende them selues to manifeste ruyne and destruction: and againe they remembred what entertaynment was promised them in Bactria that lay open for them. Where they should be receyued with such giftes and riches as they coulde not wel imagien. Whiles Bessus & Nabarzanes were beatig of these thiges in their heades, Artabasus came vnto them declaring howe Darius was wel pacified, and that they might of they would, be in the same estate and degre with him that they were in before. Thereupon they fel to weaping and purging of them selues, requiring

quiting Artabasus that he would take vpon him the defence of there cause and cary their requeste and submissiō vnto the king. The night was cōsumed in this kind of busines. When it was day Nabarzanes with the Bactriā souldiers stode at the entrey of the kinges lodging, colouring hys preuy treason with a solempne pretence of doing his dutye. Darius caused watryng to be giuen for his remoue: and so mounted vpon hys chariot after his accustumed manner. Nabarzanes and the other traytores fell vpon the ground to worshipe him and shed teares in token of repentaunce, notwithstanding that they determined shortly after to put him in fetters: mens nature is so apart to dissymulacton. Darius being of a simple and gentle nature was enforced through their behauor not only to beleue ỹ they pretēded, but also caused him to weape for ioye: yet that could not cause the traitors to alter ther purpose. Vnto whē they perceiued what kynd of man, and what maner of prince they went about to deceiue. Darius doubting nothing of his peril that was next at hand, made al the haste he could to escape Alexander, whom he only doubted. Patron that was captaine of the Grecians commaunded his souldiers to put on their harneys, which they caried before in truffes, and to be ready and attēt to euery thing that should be appointed thē. For he vnderstanding the treason that Bessus went about folowed ỹ kinges chariot seking occasiō to speake vnto him And Bessus doubting the same thing, would not departe frō the chariot, but folowed rather as a watche. then a wayter. Patron therefore hauing taried long, & interrupted oftentimes as he was about to speak, stod in a stay bet wixt feare and fidelitie beholding the king in the face. Whe Darius perceiued that he beheld hym

Patron.

Bubace. after that maquet he wylled Bubace his Gnuche that rode next hym, to enquire of Patron if he had any thyng to saye to hym. Patron sayde ye. but his matter was suche as he wouldde no man shoulde here. Then he was wylled to come nere. and without any interpretour (Darius vnderstandyng somwhat of the Greke tongue) Patron sayd vnto hym. Syr of fyfty thousand Grekes that serued you there is a smalle nombre of vs remaining whiche haue continually folowed you in all fortunes, bearing vnto you the same fidelitie and affection that we did in your moste flowrysshing estate. And are determined wheresoeuer you be, to take that for our countrey, and home. both prosperitie and aduersitie hath so coupled vs together by whiche inuincible fidelitie that is in vs. I desire and require you, that you would vouchsaue to lodge within our campe, and suffer vs to be the guarde of your persone. We haue lost Grece, we haue no Bactria to go vnto, al our hope is in you, and God graunt that other had the lyke. It is not necessarye I shoulde speake any more, nor would not demaunde the custody of your persone beyng an alien and a straunger, if I knewe that others were well mynded towardes you. Although Bessus was ignorant of the Greke tongue, yet his conscience pricked him to beleue that Patrō had disclosed some such matter, wherefore carieng away some part of his wordes, by a gerke interpretour became out of doubte. Darius nothing afraid as it appeared by his constenaūce enquired of Patrō what moued him to geue him such aduise. Whereupon he thought not good to deferre it any lōger, but said: Bessus & Nabarzanes worke treason against you, so that your life and your estate stand in extreame

Patrons wordes to Darius.

perill.

perill.and this day shalbe the last either to the traitours or to you: whose wordes if Darius had well weyed and regarded.Patron had receiued great glory of the preseruacion of his prince. But let them mocke that hyll. whiche be persuaded ỹ the state of man is gouerned at aduenture and by chaunce. but I beleue that euery mã runneth his race by an immutable order. and an euerlasting appointment. by a knitting together of causes vnknowen appointed long before. Darius aunswere was: that although the fidelitie of the Greke souldiers was sufficiently knowen vnto hym.yet he was determined neuer to departe from his owne nation.by whõ though he might be disceyued.yet it was harde for hym to mistrust them: whatsoeuer should chaunce to him he sayd. he was mynded rather to suffer it amonges his owne subiectes.then to parte from them. Not desiring to liue if his own souldiers desired not his sauegarde. Whereupon Patron dispairing of the kinges well doyng,returned to them of whome he had the charge. redy to aduenture any thyng for his sake. Bessus in the meane season had vtterly determyned to slee Darius. but fearing that he could not wynne Alexãders fauour except he deliuered his enemy into his handes aliue.deferred his purpose till ỹ night folowing. In the meane season he came to Darius and gaue him thankes that he had so wisely and with suche wisdome auoyded the treason of that false Grecian. who being corrupted by Alexander.sought nothing but howe to make a present of his head: whereat (he said) he could not maruaill that a mercenary mã shuld leue any thing vndone for money.being without any pledge of his honestie. without house.home.banished out of the world. a doubtful enemy.tossed here and there at the backe of all men. that

Darius answere vnto Patron.

will corrupt hym. And then he fell to purging of hym selfe, callyng the Goddes of his countrey to wytnes of his innocentie in the matter. Darius by his countenaunce semed to beleue hym, yet he doubted not of the truth of the tale that Patron had tolde him, but he was come to suche a pointe, that it was as daungerous for hym not to beleue his owne men, as to be deceyued. There were .xxx. thousand whose lyuenes was feared to haue consented to this conspiracy: and Patron had but foure thousand, to whome if he had committed his sauegarde, and thereby condempned the fidelitie of his owne nation, he sawe that then they myght haue therof a goodly colour and a pretence to perfourme the thyng they went about, and therefore chose rather to be killed innocently, then to geue any occasion wherby he should seame to haue deserued death. And yet when Bessus purged hymselfe, he aunswered that he knewe there was no lesse iustice in Alexander, then manhode, and that they were deceiued that loked for any reward of treason at his handes, knowyng that there was no surer punysher nor reuenger of the breche of fidelitie. When the nyght drewe nere, the Persians after their accustomed maner put of their armour, and repayred to the next villages to prouide thynges necessary. But the Bactrians as Bessus had commaunded them stode styll armed. In the meane season Darius had sent for Artabasus and shewed hym what Patron had declared. Whereupon Artabasus made no doubte, but that he shoulde strayght wayes commit hym selfe amonges the Grekes, thynkyng that the Persians whē the kynges perill should be publyshed abroade, would ioyne with the Grecians. But Darius predestinat to his chaunce, could not beare then any hollsome counsel

nor

nor sought for any help in that case. but embraced Artabazus. as though he should neuer see hym more. and being wet with the teares that one of them lette fall vpon another. caused Artabazus to be taken away that claue faste vnto hym. and because he would not see his sorowe in departing from hym. he couered hys head and fell flat vpon the ground. Then suche as were accustomed to the guarde of his persone. whiche should haue bene his defence in all perils. fled awaye. thynkyng themselues ouer weake. for suche nombre of armed men. as they supposed to be commyng. Then there was great solitarines within his lodgyng. for none remayned about the kyng but a fewe Eunukes. that had no place to repaire vnto. Then he debated and deuised with himselfe alone. sometyme one thyng. and sometyme another. and by and by waxed wery of that solitarines. whiche before he toke for a comforte. and called Bubaces vnto hym. whome he beheld. and sayd: Go prouyde your selues. whiche according to your duties haue bene true to your prince till the last howre. Here I doe tary for the fatall lawe of my destynie. peraduenture ye do maruayle that I do not ende myne owne lyfe. I had rather dye thorough other mens wickednes. then by mine owne. After those wordes Bubaces filled both the kynges lodging. and also the hole campe with mourning and lamentacion. and diuerse brake into Darius. which teryng their clothes. bewayled his case with a barbarous howling out. Whē the crie came vnto the Perciās they were so amased for feare. that they durst neither put on their armour. lest they might geue occasiō to ꝑ Bactriās to set vpō thē. nor they could not remaine quiet. lest they might seme so wickedly to leue

their kynge. There were clamours throughout the campe of diuers sortes and tunes. without any head, and without any apointment. Such as partayned to Nabarzanes and Bessus deceiued by such lamentacion as they harde. brought them worde that the kyng had killed him self. Whereupon they repaired thither so fast as thei could gallop. and such folowed after as thei had chosen to be mynisters of their mischeife. When they were entred into the kings pauilion. bicause the Enuches declared that he was on liue. they cõmaunded him to be bound. Thus he whych before was caried in a chariot and honoured of his men like a god. was made prisoner by hys owne seruauntes. without any foreine powre. and put into a vile cart couered ouer with beastes skynnes: and spoyle was made of the kinges stuffe in such sort. as if it had bene taken in the warres. And when they had laden them selues with the pray gotten after so foule a maner they conuaied them selues into their countries. But Artabazus with those of whom he had the charge. and with the Greeke souldiers. toke the way towardes Parthina thinking to be more sure any where. then in the felowship of those traitors. The Persians whom Bessus had burdened with so many faire promises. specially bicause thei had no other mã to folowe. ioyned them selues to the Bactrians. and the third daye ouertoke them. But to thintent Darius should not want such honor as was due vnto his estate Bessus caused him to be bound wyth golden fetters. such were the despightes that his fortune made him subiect vnto. And for that he should not be knowen by his apparell. they couered the carte with foull hides of beastes. and caused vnknowē mē to driue it forwards. And lest by enquiring the Armye he might be discouered.

Darius taken prisoner by Bessus and Nabarzanes.

red. such as had the charge of hym folowed after of. Whan Alexander hard that Darius was remoued to Echatane, he lefte the way that he was in. and with all the spede he could make, folowed after Darius / was said to be gone into Media. But when Alexander was come to Taba, which is the cheife Citie of Paratacene, it was there shewed him by fugitiues that came out of Darius camp, that he was fled with al spede into Bactria. And afterwardes vnderstod the matter more certeinly by Bagistenes of Babilō, who couldnot affirme directly that Darius was fled as a prisoner, but declared that either he was in daūger of death, or of captiuitie. Alexander vpon those newes called his capteines togither, and shewed them that he had a greate enterprise, but such one as the trauail was verie short. Darius (he sayd) was not far of, forsaken of his owne men, and either takē as a prisoner or slaine. In whose parson he shewed their whole victorye to consiste, and the greatnes of the matter, to be reward sufficient of their haste making. They all cried with one voice that they were redy to folowe him where he would go, and that he should neither spare there labor nor their perill. Wherupon he cōueied his army forwardes with merueilous spede, rather in post, then after the cōmon order of marching, neither resting daie nor night til they had passed .v.c. furlōges, & come to the billage where Darius was taken. There Melun, Darius Interpreter, who by reason of his sickenes could not folowe the army, was taken through Alexanders celeritie, who fayning that he fledde awaye from his maister, declared the whole matter, but how greate so euer his desire was to ouertake his enemies, it was necessary for hym to giue his men rest of their trauayle. So that determi-

Taba. Paratacene

Melun.

ning to leue the reste of his army behinde did chose out
fyue thousand horsemen and added to them .iii.c. whiche
they cal Hetaichas. that were fotemen heuy harnised.
but yet did ride on horsebacke and when the matter and
place required, lighted & fought on foote. Whē Alex-
ander was taking order about these thinges. Oxellos
and Mythacenes which for the hatred they bare to
Bessus for his treason fled from him. declared to the
kynge that the Persians were but .v. c. furlonges of.
and proffered to guide hym by a nearer way. Their
cōming was gratefull to the king. for by their conduc-
tion in the begynning of the nigh. the toke his iourney
wyth suche horsemen as he had appointed. willing his
fote battell to folowe after wyth all spede possible. He
marched forwardes in a square battell. and kept such
an order that the firste might ioyne with the laste. and
such as came behind releue them y went before. When
they had passed .ccc. furlonges of their way. Bzoculus
the sonne of Mazeus that sometime had bene gouer-
nour of Syria met Alexander and declared that Bes-
sus was within two hundred furlonges marching with
his men out of all order. as one that did taste no doubt-
tes. seming to him that they went towardes Hircania.
wherfore yf haste were made (he said) they myght sone
be ouertaken. & found dispersed here & ther. out of al
aray. He affirmed also that Darius was yet alyue. Alex-
ander. that was hote before in his pursuite. was with
his wordes muche more pricked forwardes. so that he
caused them put spores to their horses. and passed for-
wardes a gallop. and went so farre forth. that they mi-
ght heare the noise of their enemies. made as they mar-
ched. But the dust that dyd ryse toke awaye their
sight. and therefore he stayed a while. tyl the dust was

Bzoculus.

vanished

vanished away. And then both Bessus pursewed the Macedons, and they sawe the Persians as they fled. Notwithstanding they had not ben habit to haue matched with them. If Bessus had had as great courage to fight as he had to betraye hys master. For besides that they exceded the Macedons in nombre and powre, who being forweried and sore trauayled, should haue had to do with them that were lustie & freshe. But the name of Alexander and his fame, which is of great moment euer in the warres put thē in such feare that they could not staye them selues. Then Bessus and other that were parteners of the cōspiracy came to ꝑ carte where Darius was, & persuaded him to leape on horsebacke, and fle from hys enemies that were at hand. But he affirming that the gods were come to his reueng, and calling for the assistaunce of Alexander, said that in no wyse he woulde go wyth traitors: wherewith they were so sturred to wrath, that they threw dartes at him, and left him wounded in many places of his body. They thrust in the beastes also that drewe the cart, to thintent they should not be able to passe forwardes. & slew his two seruaūtes that did waite vpon him. Whē they had cōmitted this acte, they thought it expedient to dispers them selues in their flieng. And so Nabarzanes toke the waye to Hircania, and Bessus to Bactria, with a few horsemen that eche of them had in their company. When their souldiers were forsaken of their Captaines, they scatered here and there, where hope and feare did lead thē. There were only fiue hundred horsemen which assembled them selfe togither, and stode in a māmering, whither it were better to resiste or to flee. Alexander vnderstanding the feare his enemies were in sent Nycanor before wyth parte of hys horsemen.

Darius wounded to death.

by

by keping of them occupied. and he with the reſt folowed after. Where were ſlayn about the nombre of .iii. thouſand that ſtode at their defence. and they dyd dryue before them the reſte of the army like beaſtes. from killyng of whome. the kyng gaue commaundement to abſtaine. Amonges all the priſoners there was none that was able to ſhewe which was the cart that caried Darius. for euery one was ſo deſirous to fynd him. that as they ſawe any carte thei ſought Darius therin. and yet they could perceyue by no meanes where he was become. Alexander made ſuche haſte that ſcarſely thre thouſand horſemen folowed hym. of all his nombre. but the whole army of the Perſians. fell into their lappes that folowed behynde. It is ſcarſely credible to be beleued. that there ſhould be more priſoners taken. then there were men to take the. But fortune in that feare had ſo taken away their ſenes. that they could not conſyder their owne multitude. nor the ſmale nombre of their enemies. In the meane ſeaſon the beaſtes that drewe Darius wagon. hauing no man to gouerne the. were ſwarued out of the hyghe way. and wanderyng here and there. had drawen Darius four furlonges fro the place he was woūded. into a valley. where they fainted. by reaſon of their heate and their hurtes. There was a ſpying there at hand. whiche certaine that knewe the countrey. had ſhewed to Polliſtratus a Macedon. that was ouercome for thruſt. And whiles he was drinking water out of his helmet. he ſpyed the beaſtes that were thruſt in with dartes. and marueilyng that they were not rather caried away. then hurt after that maner. He loked. & fould in the foule cart the body of a man haulf alyue. and at length perceiued it was Darius that lay there ſore wounded. & drawing of his breath. Then

Polliſtratus

Poli-

polistratus brought to hym a prisoner whome he had taken prisoner. Whome when Darius knewe by his apere to be of his countrey sayde: he toke that for a token of his present fortune, that he shoulde speake before he died. to one that understode hym. and not bitter his last wordes to hym. He requited hym to declare vnto Alexander that though he had neuer destructe any thing at his handes, yet it was his chaunce to die greatly his debtour. and had great thankes to geue hym. for the fauour and goodnes that he had shewed towardes his mother, his wife and his children. to whome he had not only graunted life. but also the reuerence of their former estate & dignitie. where as he of his kinsmen & frendes to whome he had geuen both life and landes, was now by the bereaued of al. he prayed therefore that he might alwayes be victor. and that the Empire of the whole worlde myght come vnto his handes. requiring that he would not neglecte to take reuengaunce of so foull an act. not only for his cause. but for ensample and the loue of other princes. which should be a thing honorable vnto hym. and profitable in tyme comyng. When he had spoken these wordes. he fainted and called for water. & after he had dronke. said to polistratus that presented it vnto hym. Whatsoeuer thou art. this is vnto me the last mystery in all my aduerse chaunce. that I am not able to requite the this benefite. But Alexander shal reward the. & the goddes shall requite him for his great humanite & clemency shewed towardes mine. Vnto whome. in my behalfe thou shalt geue my hande as a pledge of a kinges promise. When he had spoken these wordes. and geuen polistratus his hand. he died. Whē these thinges were reported to Alexander. he repayred where the dead corse lay. & there bewayled with teares.

The message that Darius sent to Alexand before his death.

that

that it was his chaunce to dye. a death so vnworthy for so great an estate. and taking of his owne clooke to couer the dead coorse withall. adorned thesame with all thynges that pertayned to a kyng. and sent it to his mother Sisigambis to be buried in suche sorte as the countrey manet was to bury kynges. and to be layde amonges the rest of his predecessours.

(.*.)

☞ Here the first parte of the fyrt booke doth want. wherin was conteyned the cause of the warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons: with the preparacion of both nacions to the battail that was fought betwixt Antipater Alexanders lieutenaunt in Macedonia. and Agis. kyng of the Lacedemonians.

(.*.)

The fyrte boke of

Quintus Curtius of the actes of the great Alexander kynge of Macedonie.

The batail betwyxt Asyo kynge of Lacedemon and Antipater leutenãt in Macedonia

Epreassed forwardes where the fyght was moste daungerous and fleyng furthe as made moste reistaunce. but the greater parte of his enemies to flyght. Then suche as were victoryers before. began to flye. till they had drawen their enemies gredely folowyng them, out of the fyrste into a more playne ground. In the fyrste many of them were slayne. but when they had once recouered suche a ground where as they might haye and fall in order. the battailes ioyned equally against on both sides. Amonges them all. the kyng of the Lacedemonians, appeared moste notable in all mens eyes not to muche by the beawty of his armour and goodly personage. as though the greatnes of his courage. wherein only he could not be ouercome. He was layde to on all partes. both nere hande. and a farre of. yet for all that he endured long in armes against his enemies. auoyding their strokes parte with his target. and parte with his body. til suche tyme as he was thrust through both thies with a spere. when by great effusion of bloud he was not able any lõger to endure the fyght. Then the esquiers for his body toke hym vp vpon his target. and caried hym into their campe. that with great payne endured the smarting of his woundes. The Lacedemonians for all theie kynges departure. gaue not ouer the fyght. but alsone as they could recouer any ground of aduauntage. they closed them selues in battayle

togethers

togither. and receyued stoutly their enemies that came ful vpon them. Their is not found in any memorie of a battayl more vehemētly fought then that was. where the armies of two nacions that were moste excellent in the wartes contended togithers the victory not yet enclyning to any part. The Lacedemonians called to mynde their aunciente manhode and prowes. and the Macedons considred their present estymacion they had in the world. The Lacedemonians feared for their libertie. and the Macedons for the souereyntye. The one partie lacked a capteine. and the other rowme to fight in. The manifolde aduentures and cautes that fel that daie encreased both the hope and feare of both parties. fortune as it were of purpose bringing suche valiant men to fight togithers neither of them preuailing vpon other. But the streytnes of the place wherin they fought did not suffre them to ioyne with their whole force at ones: for more were beholders the fighters. and such as stode without daunger encouraged the other with their crie. Atlength the Lacedemonians began to faint. and scarsly able for sweating to sustain their armour began to drawe backe. to haue the more libertie to fle from their enemies that preased fore vpon them. whe they were ones broke and scatered abrode the victor pursued after. And passing the place wherupon the Lacedemonians battayll was first arayned. with all haste made a fore pursuyt vpon Agyn. who seing his men flieng and his enemies approch at hāde. willed his men to set him downe. Where stretching out him selfe. to sele if the force of his body could answere vnto his hart. when he found him selfe vnable to stand. remaining vpon his knees. put on his helmet. and couering his body with his target. shaked his spere

and

and prouoked his enemies to brawle nere. If any were desirous of his spoile, but there was not one that preasted nere hym, but did cast dartes afarre of, which he alwayes toke and threwe at his enemies againe till such tyme as he was thrust into ỹ bare breast with a speare, which pulled out of the wound, he fainted and bowing downe hunselfe vpon his target, shortly after fel downe dead, blood and lyfe failing both together. There were slayne of the Lacedemonias .v. M. iii. C. lx. and of the Macedons not passing .iii. C. but there was scarcely any of thē that escaped vnwounded. This victory brake the hartes not only of the Lacedemonias and of their confederates but also of all other which lay in wayte loking for ỹ successe of that warre. Antipater was not ignorant howe the countenāces of such as did gratefie his victory, differed muche from the ententes of their hartes: but desirous to finisshe the warre that was begonne perceiued it necessary for him to dissemble, & suffre hymself to be deceiued. And though he reioyced much in the fortune of the thing, yet he feared the enuy that might ensue therof being a greater matter then the estate of a lieutenaunt did beare. For Alexāder was of ỹ nature that he disdained that his enemies had wonne the victory, shewyng manifestly that he was not contented with Antipaters good successe, thinking that what honour soeuer chaunced to any other man was a derogacion to his owne glory. Antipater therefore which knew full wel his stomake durst not dispise the victory according to his owne will. But assembled a counsel of Grekes to aduise what thei thought expedient. The Lacedemonias made no other request but that they might send Embasadours vnto Alexander, whiche vpon their repaire to him and their suite made, obtained pardon to all men.

Agis was slayne.

sauing to suche as were the authores of the rebellion.
Megapolitans. The Megapolitans whose cytie did abide the syege, were cõpelled to pay as a fine for their rebellion .xx. talentes to the Thetans and the catolians. This was the ende
howe Alexander in prosperytie fell to vice. of the warre, which being sodeinly begone was ended before that Alexander had ouerthrowne Darius at Arbella. Assone as his minde was delyuered of those present cares, as one that coulde beare better the warres then quietnes or rest, gaue him selfe al to pleasures. By the vices wherof ensewing he was ouercome, whom no powre of the Persians or any other was able to subdue. He was geuen to banquetting out of season, & to a fonde delight of drinking & watching, in plaies, and amonges flocks of Concubines ỹ drewe him into straūge manners & customes. Which he folowing as thinges better then the dsagies of his countrey, offended therby greatly both ỹ eyes & the hartes of his owne nacion. & caused many ỹ loued hym before entierly, to hate him then as an enemy. For the Macedõs ỹ were obstinate in keaping their own discipline & accustumed not to be curius, but so scarse in their diet as might suffise nature. Whē they sawe he went about to bring in amonges them ỹ vices of those nacions whych they had subdued: cõspiracies then began to be made against hym, mutyne rose amonges the souldiers, & euery one complaynning to an other freely vttred their griefes, thereby he was prouoked to wrath, to suspicion & sodeine feare, diuers other inconuenience ensuing therupon which shalbe declared hereafter. Alexander being giuen as it hath bene saied before to vnreasonable banquettinge wherin he consumed both daie & night. When he was satisfied of eating & drinking, passed ouer the tyme vỹ plaies & pastimes. And not cõtented vỹ such musicias as he brought out of Greace, caused the womē ỹ were taken captiue to sing before him such songes as abhored

the

the eares of the Macedons not accustumed to suche thinges. Emonges those women Alexander spyed one more sadder then the rest, which with a certaine shamfastnes did strue with them that brought hir fourth. She was excellent of beuty & throughe hir shamfastnes hir beuty was augmentyd. Because she did caste hir eies towardes the earth, & couered hir face so much as she might: caused him to suspecte hir to come of greater nobilitie, then ẏ she ought to be shewed furth amõ such banquetting plates. And therfore being demaunded what she was: she shewed hir self to be the doughter of the sonne of Ochus ẏ lately reigned in Perce. & the wife of Histaspis which was Darius kinsmã, and had ben his lieutennant ouer great armies. Their yet remaynned in the kinges hart some smalle sparkes of his former vertue. For in respect of her estate beinge come of kinges blood, & the reuerence he bare to such a name as the nese of Ochus commaunded hir not only to be set free, but also to be restored to hir goods and hir husband, whõ he willed to be sought out. The next date he apointed Ephestiõ to bring al the prisoners vnto the court. where enquering of the nobilitie of euery one commaunded them which were descended of noble blood to be seuered from the reste amonges whom they found Oxatres brother to Darius. ẏ was no lesse noble of mind then of blood. There was made of the laste spoile. xxvi. M. talentes, whereof. xii. M. were consumed in rewardes amonges the men of warre: & the smoe amõted to no lesse value ẏ was cõuated away by them that had the keapinge thereof. There was one Oxydates a noble man of Perce that was put in prison by Darius, and apointed to suffre death. whom Alexander delyuered and gaue vnto hym the signorie of Medya, and receyued Darius brother amonges the nombre of his frendes. reserving to hym all the accustumed

vistaspis.

Oxydates.

customed honour of his nobilitie. The thei came to the
Parthenia. countrey of Parthenia, then being but obscure & vnknowen: but now the head of all those countreis which lie vpon Tigre & Euphrates & be bounded with the read seas. This countrey being frutefull & habounday of al thinges, was taken by the Scithians, whiche possessing part both of Asia & Europe, be troubleous neyghbours to them both. They, which inhabite vpō the Bospheron sea, are accōbed to be in Asia. And such as be in Europe, possesse the coūtreis lieng on the lefte side of
Bousthenes. Thracia so far as Bousthenes, & frō thence right furth so farre as the ryuer of Tanais, that parteth Europe & Asia. It is certain that the Scythes, of whom the Persians be descended, came not from Bospheron, but out of Europe. There was a noble cytie in those daies cal-
Atomphilos led Atomphilos builded by the Grekes, where Alexander remained with his army, conueieng vittels thether
A tumulte that rose vpon a rumour. from all partes. Amonges the souldiers lieng there in idlenes, there did rise sodainly a rumour, ỹ entred into their heades without any certain auctour or beginnig. The rumor was how that Alexander satisfied with the actes he had done, purposed immediatly to returne into Macedon. This fame was not so sone sowen abrode, but ỹ they ran like madde men to their lodginges, and trussed vp their baggage and their stuf: making such preparacion to depart, that euery man iudged warning had bene geuen to remoue, and that the thing had bene done by appointmēt. The tumult that rysse in the cāpe by lading of carriages & the calling that one made vnto another, came vnto ỹ kynges eares. This rumour obtained ỹ soner credite, by ỹ dispatche of certain Greke souldiers, whom Alexāder had dismissed into their coūtrey, with the gift of vi. thousand deneres, to euery horseman, & herupon they toke occasion to thinke that the

warre

warre had bene at an ende. Alexander, whose purpose was to passe into India and the vttermoste bandes of the orient, was no lesse afraied of this matter then the case required. And therefore called before him the capteins of his army: And with ꝑ teares in his eies, made a great complaint vnto them: that in the middle course of his glorie should thus be pulled back, and compelled to returne into his countrey, rather as a man banquished then as a victor. Whiche misfortune (he saide) he could not impute to his souldiers, nor iudge in thē any cowardnes, to giue impedimēt to his procedinges, but that it was only the enuie of ꝑ goddes, which put so sodeine a desire of their countrey into the mindes of valiaunt men, that within a while should haue returned with great glory and fame. Therupon they al promised him to trauaill in reformation of the matter, offeringe them selues in al thinges (were they neuer so difficult) to do as he would haue them. And they promised also, the obedience of the souldiers, if so be that he would make some gentle & apt oracion to pacifie them: which were neuer yet sene departe from him in any desperacion or disturbāce of mind, if they once beheld the cherfulnes of his coūtenaūce and the courage that proceded from his harte. He promised that he would so do, & required at their handes to prepare in the multitude an aptnes to gyue eare vnto hym. When all thinges were prepared which were thought expedient for the purpose, he assembled all his armye togither and made this oracion vnto them. When ye consider (my souldiers) the greatnes of the actes which ye haue done, & the manifolde conquestes that ye haue made, it is no merueill at all, though ye be enclined to the desyer of quietnes, and fully satisfied with fame and glorye. For

Alexanders oracion vnto the souldiers.

leuing to ſpeake of the Illirians. & Triballes. of Boe-
tia. Thracia. & Sparta. of the Achaians & Pelopone-
ſians. whom I haue ſubdued part in perſone. & the reſt
by my apointmēt. I will not make reherſal of ꝑ warre
we began at Helleſpont. and how we deliuered frō the
intollerable ſeruitude of the Barbarians nations. Io-
nas and Aeolides. and got vnto our poſſeſſiō both Ca-
ria. Lydia. Cappadocia. Phrigia. Paphlagonia. Pamph-
lia. Pilides. Cilicia. Siria. Phenices. Armenia. Perre.
Mede. and Parthenia. We haue gotten more coūtreis.
then other haue taken cities. & yet (I am ſure) the mul-
titude of them. haue cauſed me to leue ſome of thē vn-
reherſed. If I could thinke that the poſſeſſion of thēſe
landes that we haue cōquered in ſo ſhort time could re-
main ſure vnto vs. thē (my ſouldiers) I would. though
it were againſt your willes. breake from you. to viſite
my houſe and my home. to ſee my mother. my ſiſters. &
my countreymen. to enioy there the laude & glory that
I haue gotten with you. Where as the ioyfull conuer-
ſacion of our wifes. our children. & parētes. peace. quiet-
nes. & a ſure poſſeſſion of thinges gotten through our
valiauntnes. do tary for vs. as large rewardes of our
victory. But if we wil cōfeſſe ꝑ truth. this new empire
whiche we haue not yet at cōmaundement. but is kept
as it were by way of entreaty. doth require a time. that
this ſtiffe necked people. may learne to beare our yoke.
& framing their diſpoſicions to a more humanitie. bring
their cruell nature to a more ciuill cōuerſacion. Do we
not ſee that the corne in the field axeth a time for his ri
pinge: and though the ſame be without ſence. yet hath it
his courſe to be brought to perfection. Do you beleue
that ſo many nations not agreing with vs in religion.
in cuſtomes. nor in vſe of tongue. accuſtomed to them-

pire.

pire and name of an other man. will be conquered and brought to subiectiō with the wynning of one battail? No. trust me. they be kept vnder with the feare of our powre. and do not obey vs of their owne good willes. And they whiche shewe you obedience when ye be here amonges them. when you be absent. wilbe your enemies. you must thinke that ye haue to doe with wilde beastes. whiche. being fierse of nature. whē they be first taken. must be shut vp. and tamed with tyme. Hetherto I haue reasoned with you as though we had conquered the hole dominion that perteyned to Darius. which is nothyng so: For Nabarzanes possesseth Hircania. and the traitour Bessus not only enioyeth Bactria. but also threatenieth vs. The Sogdians. Dahans. Massagetes. Sagans. and the Indians. remayne yet in their owne libertie and iurisdiction. whiche shall not see our backes so sone turned but they will followe vs in the tayles. They all haue a certayne frendshyp and amitie one with an other. but we be all straungers and foryners vnto them. There is no creature but that will more gladly be obedient to rulers of his own nacion. then to foryners. be their gouernement neuer so terryble. We are dryuen of necessitie therefore to wynne that we haue not. or els to lose that we haue all redy gotten. As phisicions in sick bodies will leaue no humour that maye hurt. so lykewyse we must cut away whatsoeuer shall be impediment vnto our Empire. Haue you not sene great fiers risen of small sparkes not regarded? We may not neglect any thig in our enemies. whom the more we dispise. the more strōg we make them. And because you shal not thinke it such an impossibilitie for Bessus to make him self kyng. where

as a kyng wanteth: you shall vnderstande that Darius came not to his Empire by enheritaunce, but got into the seate of Cirus by the benefite of Bagoas his Enuche. We commit an heinous offence (my souldiers) if we made warre to Darius, and put him do wne for the entent to geue his kyngdome vnto his seruaunt. yea. and to suche one as attempted so vyle an acte agaynst his maister. at suche a tyme as he had moste neade of helpe. and whō. we being his enemies would haue spared. he being his subiect put him in chaynes as a captiue. and finally slewe him. because he should not be preserued by vs. Shall you suffre this kynd of man to reigne? no. let vs make all the spede we may to see him crucified. and so to shewe vnto all kynges and nacions a iustice done vpon one. that so vilely falsefied his fayth. If the reporte should come vnto you. beyng in your own countreis. that the same man were distroyeng of the Greke cities about Helespont. O God howe sorye would you be then. and howe muche would you lamente. that Bessus should enioye that you haue gotten. and vsurpe the rewardes of your victory? Then would you make haste to recouer your own. thē would you bend your selues to the warres. But how muche better is it nowe to oppresse him whiles he remaineth in suche feare. and is vncertayne what way to take? Shal we spare to spēd. iiii. score daies iourney to come to hym. that haue ouertroden suche snowes. that haue passed so many ryuers. that haue clymed so many mountaines? to whose iourney the flowyng sea could be no impediment. nor the streyte of Cilicia could shut vp our way. Nowe all thinges are made playne and open and we stande in the entrey of our victory. There be but a fewe fugitiues. and killers of their maisters that do remaine.

maine. what more notable worke can you leaue vnto your posteritie, to be regestred by fame vnto your glory then in reuenging such as were traitours to Darius: you shal therby shewe that whē you were enemies vnto him, yet your hatred ended with his death, & that no wicked person could escape your handes. which thing if you bring to passe, how muche more obedient do you thinke the Persiās shalbe vnto you, whē they perceiue that you take iust warres in hand, and it was not Bessus name wherewith ye were offended, but with his faultes and euill doinges. His oracion was receiued of the souldiers with such gladnes, that thei streightwaies desired him to cary them whether he would. And he that could vse the occasion of their good mode, passed through Parthenia and came to the boundes of Hircania, leuying Craterus with the band wherof he had the rule, and six thousand horsemen, of whome Amyntas had the charge, with the like nombre of archers to defend Parthenia from the incursion of the barberous nacions. He appointed Erigonus a smal power to attēd vpō his cartages, willing him to passe with thē through the plaine countrey. And he himself with his fotemen, and with the reste of his horsemen marched forwardes .lxxty furlonges, and encamped in a valley at the entrey of Hircania. In thesame place be greate woodes full of hyghe and thyck trees, and the bottome of the valley is very frutefull, by reason of the springes that come forth of the rockes. Out of the foote of the mountaynes there ryseth a ryuer called Zioberis, which with in thre furlonges of the head, is deuided by a rocke stādyng in the middes of the streame, causyng the water to go two sondrie wayes. Whiche afterwardes comming again into one chanell, ronneth more violently

Hircania.

Zioberis.

then before. by reason of the fall of the rockes. And so
denly it sinketh into the ground. and so cōneth hidden
by the space of .xl. furlonges. and then cōmeth furthe
againe as it were out of a newe spring. the same being
then in bredth .xiii. furlonges. and as it conneth fore-
wardes drawith more narow. and falleth into an other
Rhydago. streame named Rhydago. The inhabiters of the coun-
trey affirmed that al thinges caste in where the streme
sunk into the ground. would apeare & come out again
at the next issue. For the proving of which conclusion.
Alexāder caused two bulles to be cast in where the wa-
ter entered. whose bodies were found by such as were
apoynted for the purpose. where the streame brake out
againe. In this place he refreshed his army .iiii. dates.
during which time Nabarzanes which was confederat
with Bessus in killing of ꝑ king. did write lres to hym.
in effect. howe that he was no enemie vnto Darius
Theeffecte of Nabarza- but counselled hym euer to doe suche thynges as he
nes letters to Alexāder iudged moste proffitable. and for his faithfull counsell
was put in daunger of his life by him. who were about
against al reason to commit the custodie of his person
to straungers. condemning therby the fidelitie of hys
owne nacion. which they had kept vnspotted towardes
theyr kinges by the space of .cccxx. yeares. Wherefore
seing hymself in that perill and daunger. fore counsel
of his present necessitie. And alledged that it was al-
waies admitted lauful for a man to sle such one. whom
he knewe to imagyn his death. which was an excuse
(he said) wherwith Darius satisfied the people. when
he had slain Bagoas. He alledged ꝑ nothing was more
deare to mortal creatures then life. for the love wherof
he was driuen to this extremytie. in committing an act
which necessity rather cōpelled him to do. then his own

disposition.

disposion. For in a generall calamitie euery man hath his fortune. If he would commaund hym to come to his presence, he saide he woulde not refuse to doe it: for he coulde not feare that so great a kyng would violat his promis, seing one God is not wont to deceiue an other. But if he shoulde seame vnworthy to whom he would giue his assuraunce, ther were many countries for him to fle vnto. For al men hauing vertue in them, counte alwaies that for their countrey, where they make their dwelling place. Alexander made no stay in gaining him his faith, after such sorte as the Bactrians vsed to receiue it: which was to do him no harme if he came to him. Notwithstanding he marched in order of battell sending euer scourers before to discouer the ground. The light armed were apointed to the vowarde. ỹ phalanx folowed after, & the baggage behind. For by reasō the same was a warlik nation, & the countrey harde to entre vpon, caused the kinge to loke ernestly vpon the matter. The same valley stretcheth out to the Caspian sea, the bākes therof resembling ỹ hornes of the mone before it cōmeth to the full, the sea lieng betwyxt them like a great bay, vpon the lefte hand the people inhabite that be called Cercetes, whyche lye open towardes the north, and vpon the other parte the Leucosyrians, Mossynes, and Chalibes and the plaines of the Amazones lye towardes the weste. This sea whiche some call the Caspion and some the Hyrcanian sea, being more sweater then anie other, bringeth forth Serpentes of a wonderfull bignes, and fyshes differinge in colour much from all the reste. They be dyuers of opynion that the lake of Meotis shoulde ronne into thys sea, whiche they coniecture of the water, thinkyng the same to receyue hys sweatnes of the lake.

Cercetes. Leucosyriās. Mossynes. Chalybes.

The caspyō sea.

Towardes

Towardes the north the sea groweth into a fleat shore and putteth furth his waters farre vpō the lād. which rising high make many meares and plashes. And as by certaine course of the planets they flowe out. so at certaine time by an ebbe. they returne in againe restoring the groūd to his former estate. Some beleue those waters to be no parcel of the Caspian sea. but that they come out of Inde and cōne into Hyrcania. which lieth low in the foresaid valley. The king being remoued frō that place. marched forwardes. xx. furlonge in a wylde desert way. Where great woodes longe continually ouer their heades. and brokes of water and myre gaue great impediment to ther iourney. But at length with out any impedimēt of his enemies he passed those difficulties. and came vnto a more faire countrei. wherin besides other vittells (whereof it dyd habound) grewe great plenty of appulles. and the ground was verey apt for vynes. There were also plenty of a certayne kynd of trees. much like vnto okes. whose leaues were couered with hony. which the inhabitors gather before ꝑ sonne rising. for els the moister would be dried vp with the heate. When Alexander had passed. xxx. furlonges more forwardes. Phrataphernes mette him. yeldinge both him selfe. & such other as fled away after Darius death. whom he receyued gently. and came to a towne called Iruas. Thether came Craterus and Erigonus bringing with thē Phradates that had the rule of the Tapurians: whose frendly receyuing and gentle entertainment was the cause that many folowed his ensample in committing themselues to Alexanders mercy Menape was made their prince of Hircania. who. being a banished man. in the tyme of Oechus. came to king Philipp for refuge & Phradates also was restored to the

Iruas.
Phradates.
Tapurians
Menape.

to the office he had before. When Alexander was come to the vttermost bordes of Hyrcania. Artabazus, y whom we declared to the we hym left tarying alway to hys Master, met Alexander with Darius kynsmen and children, and with a smalle bande of Greake soudyers. The kyng at his comming profered him his hand, because he had hym entertayned before by king Philippe when he was banished by Dardas. but the chiefe cause that he accepted him so well, was for the cõtinual fidelitie that he obserued towardes his prince. He beinge thus gentlye receyued by Alexander, sayd vnto him: Sir, long may you florysshe and reigne in perpetuall felicitie. I that reioyce in all other thinges, with one am chiefly greued, that by reason of myne olde age, I shall not be able long to reioyse your goodnes. He was iiii. score. v. yeares of age, & brought with him .iv. sonnes borne of one mother, whõ he presented before the kyng, prayeng god to continewe their liues: so long as their seruice might be acceptable vnto him. Alexander was accustomed much to walk on fote, but then lest he the olde man might be ashamed to ride, he goinge on fote called for horses for them bothe. when he was encãped, he sent for the Grekes that Artabasus brought. But they made requeste firste that he would giue assurance to the Lacedemonias that were amõges thẽ, or els they would take aduise amonges them selues what were beste to do. The same were the Embassadours that the Lacedemonias had sent vnto Darius. After whose ouerthrowe they ioyned them selues to the Greakes that were in his wages. The kyng willed thẽ to leue al assurãces & cõpositiõs & come to receiue such apointment as he would gyue them. They stode long in a staye bareing diuersions but at length they

Artabazus yelded to Alexander.

agreed

agreed so to do: Sauing Democrates of Athees which chefly had euer oppugned the succesle of the Macedons.dispairing of pardon slewe him self. But thother as they had determyned. submitted them selues to Alexanders wil.being.x.M.vc.in nũbre.besides.xiii.score.&.x of such as were sẽt Embassadores vnto Darius. The more parte of the souldiers were distributed amongs the bandes.to fyll vp the nombres that wãted. and the rest were sent home except the Lacedemonians.which he commaunded to be put in prison. Ther was a nacion called Mardons bounding next to Hircania.rude in their manners and vsages. accustumed to lyue by theft: They neither sent Embassadores.nor gaue any signification that they woulde be at Alexanders commaũdiment.he toke therat great indingnaciõ that any one people should giue impediment to his victory.And therfore leuing a guard for his cariages.went against them with a strong powre. He marched forwardes in the night.and by the tyme that the day appeared his ennemies were in sight.But the matter came rather to a larom then to any fyght. For thennemies were sone driuen from the hilles.Who flieng away left their villagies to be sacked by the Macedons. But the armye could not passe into the inward partes of the countrey without great trouble & veracion.the same being compassed about wt high mountains.great woodes & desert rockes.& the partes which were plaine were defended with a straung kind of fortificacion.that is to say with tres set thick of purpose.the bowes whereof whẽ they were yong were wreathed one wythin an other: The toppes bowed downe were put into the grouũd againe. from whence as out of an other rote ther sprong new braunches. Which they would not suffre to growe as

The Mardens

nature

nature brought furth but did knit them so one with an other that when they were full of leaues they couered clene the earth. The trees thus wreathed one to an other enclosed in the countrey as it were with a continuall hedge. and were as snares to entangle suche as would go about to entre. ther was no way could be deuised to passe through ȳ same but onlyby cutting down of the wood. And therin they found a great difficultie and muche trauail. by reason that the wreathing & wrappinge togither of the bowes kept them of from the bodies of the tres. And the weaknes of the bowes so yelded to the strokes that they could not wel be cut a sonder. The inhabiters of the countrey were accustumed to creape amonges the bush like wilde beastes. and by priuie sallies breake out vpon their enemies. Alexāder therfore caused his men after ȳ maner of hunters to seke out ther lurking places & killed many of them. But at length he enuironed the woode with his souldiers round about. to thintent they might breake in at euery place. wher they should spie any entrey. wherby many wandred & lost ther company in places that they knew not. and were taken prysoners: And amonges them Bucephalus Alexāders horse. whom he did not esteame as men do other beastes. for he would not suffre any other man to come vpon hys back. and when the kynge would ride he would kneell downe vpon hys knees to receiue him. so that he seamed to haue the sence to vnderstand whom he carted. Alexander was more sorowfull and stirred to a greater wrath for the losse of the horse thē was expedient for such a cause. for serching about to get ȳ horse againe caused proclamatiō to be made by an interpreter. ȳ except he were restored he wold not leaue one of them alyue. wherē they hard this terrible threating. amōges other giftes they presented vnto

Bucephalus Alexanders horse.

Alexander

Alexander his horse, yet he was not therwyth pacified but comaunded the woodes to be cut downe, & earth to be brought for making of the wayes smooth, which he cutt through the woodes. This worck went so wel forward, that the inhabiters dispayring of habilitie to defend their countrey, yelded them selues to the kinge, who receyuing their pledges, committed them to the keaping of Phradates. And from thence the fifte day returned againe to his campe. There he gaue to Artabalus the double honor that Darius did vnto him, and sent him home againe into his countrey. After that he came to that citie of Hircania where Darius palace was. Nabarzanes vpon assurance, came thither bringing with him great giftes, and amonges the reste presented vnto Alexãder Bagoas an Enuche of singuler beauty, being in the firste flowre of youth, whom Darius accustomed, and after Alexander. At whose intercession specially he did pardon Nabarzanes. The nacion of the Amazõs being nere vnto Hircania (as hath bene sayed before) did inhabite the playnes of Themiscirae about the riuer of Thermodoonta, a had a quene reigning ouer thẽ called Thalestris, which kept vnder her dominion all the countreis betweene the Mount Caucasus and the riuer of Phasis: who for the greate affection she had to see Alexander trauailed out of his owne countrey, and being come nere where he was, she sente certayne before to declare that a quene was come of desire to visite him, and to make his acquayntaunce. Whan lycence was giuen her to come to his presence, she caused all the rest of his band to stay, and she came forwardes accompanied with .cc. women. Alone as she perceyued Alexander, she leaped from her horse carieng two Lances in his hande. The Ama-

The Amazons.

Thermodoonta.

Phasis.

Thalestrys meete Alexander.

zons appareil is ſuche that it doth not couer all their bodies. for their breſtes be bare on the lefte ſyde. nor their garmentes whiche they vſe to knytte vp with a knot come not to their knees. One breſte thei alwaies reſerue vntouched wherewith they norylhe their woman chyldren. but their ryght breaſtes thei vſe to feare. to make them more apt to drawe their bowes. and caſte their dartes. Thaleſtis beholde Alexander with a bold countenaunce. and conſidered in lokyng vpon hym. that his perſonage eunſwered not to the ſame that ſhe had heard of his actes. For the barbarous nacions geue great veneracion to the maieſtie of the perſonage. thynking none to be ſufficient for the doing of greate actes but ſuche as nature haue endued with great perſonages. It was demaunded of her. if ſhe had any requeſt to make vnto Alexander: Wherat ſhe abaſhed not to confeſſe that ſhe was come thether to get chyldren with hym. thynkyng her ſelfe a perſonage worthy of whome he ſhould get heires to enherite his kyngdome. Couenanting that if it were a womā ſhe wold kepe it ſtyll. and if it were a man chylde. ſhe would reſtore it to the father. Alexander enquired of her. if ſhe would go forwardes with him in his warres. but therin ſhe excuſed her ſelfe. that ſhe had left no order for the defence of her kyngdome. But ſhe continued ſtyll in declaration of the cauſe of her commyng. and required that her hope therein myght not be in vayne. The womans appetite ſeamed to be more behemently geuen to luſte then the kynges was. yet ſhe obtayned of hym to ſtay for her cauſe. and conſumed thirtene daies in ſatiſfieng of her deſire. That done ſhe departed to her owne kyngdome. and Alexander went to Patthinia. which was the place where he firſt ſhewed

here Alexander firſt forſoke vertue and fell to vice.

manifestly the vices that were in hym: there he tur-
ned his continency.and moderacion. being the moste
excellent vertues appearing in any kynde of estate.
into pryde and voluptuousnesse. not esteamyng hys
countrey customes.nor the holsome temperaunce that
was in the vsagies and discipline of the kynges of
Macedon.whiche iudged their cuill vsage and maner
to be ouer base for his greatnes.but did counterfeit the
heyghte and pompe of the kynges of Perse. repre-
senting the greatnes of the Goddes. He was con-
tent to suffre men there to fall downe flat vpon the
ground.and worshyp hym.and accustomed the victo-
rs of so many nacions.by litle and litle. to serule offices.
coueting to make them equall vnto his captiues. He
ware vpon his head a diademe of purple. interpaled
with white.lyke as Darius was accustomed. and fas-
shioned his apparell of the maner of the Persians.
without scrupulositie of any euell token that it signi-
fied.for the victorer to chaunge his habite into the fas-
shion of hym whome he had vanquisshed. And though
he aduaunted that he ware the spoiles of his enemies.
yet with those spoyles he put vpon him their euell ma-
ners. and the insolency of the mynde. followed the
pryde of the apparell. Besides he sealed suche letters
as he sent into Europe with his accustomed seale. but
all the letters he sent abrode into Asia. were sealed
with Darius synge. So it appeared that one mynde
could not beare the greatnes that apperteyned to two.
He apparelled also his frendes.his capitaynes. and his
horsemen in Persian apparell. wherat though they
grudged in their myndes. yet they durst not refuse it
for feare of his displeasure. His court was replenis-
shed with concubines.for he still mayuteined thre hun-

dred

dred &. lx. that belonged to Darius. & amonges them were flockes of Enukes accustomed to performe the vse of women. The old souldiers of Philippe naturally abhorryng suche thinges manifestly withstode to be infected with suche voluptuousnes and straūge customes. Wherupon there rose a general talke and opiniō throughout the cāpe: that they had lost more by the victory, then they had wonne by the warre. For when they sawe themselues ouercome in suche excesse. & foreine customes so to preuaile amonges them. they iudged it a slender reward of their long being abrode. to returne home in the habite of prisoners. They began to be ashamed of their kyng that was more like to suche as were subdued, then to them that were victorious. and that of a kyng of Macedon. was become a prince of Perse. & one of Darius courtiers. When he vnderstode that the chefe of his frendes. and his men of warre. were greuously offended with his doynges. he went about to recouer fauour againe with giftes and liberalitie. but it is to be thought that the rewardes of seruitude. be vngratefull to free men. And therfore lest this matter might turne into a sedicion. he thought good to breake the imaginaciōs encreased by idlenes. with the exercise of warres. whe rof an apt occasiō was geuen. For Bessus inuesting him selfe as a kyng. toke vpon hym the name of Artaxerses. drawing to his parte the Scithians and other that were the inhabiters of the Ryuer of Tanais: whiche thinges were reported to hym by Nabarzanes. whome he had receiued into his fauour. & geuen the rule of the countrey that he had before. When he had determined this new expediciō. he found his army so ouercharged and laden with spoyle. & other furnimētes of voluptuousnes. that they could

Bessus toke vpon him as kyng.

not ſcatſly moue. Wherfore he commaunded the baggage and ſtuf of the whole army to be brought together in one place.excepting only ſuch thinges as were very neceſſary. The place was large and playne whether the cartes were brought laden. and when euery one ſtode wayting and muſing what he woulde commaunde them to doe. he cauſed the beaſtes to be remoued firſt out of the way. and then ſet his owne fardels on fyer.and after all the reſte. Whiles theſe thynges were burning the owners were on fyer. to ſee theſe thinges conſumed.for the ſauing wherof they had oft quenched the flambes in Cyties of their enemies. yet no man durſte lament the price of his owne bloud. ſeing they ſawe the fyer conſume the kynges ryches.as well as their owne.but the rather to pacefie them. the kyng did mytigate their dolour with a briefe oracion. Whereupon they that were euer apt for the warres, and redy to doe all thynges. began to be ioyfull that with the loſſe of their baggage. they had ſaued their diſcipline accuſtomed in the warres.As they were ſetting forwardes towardes Bactria. Nycanour the ſonne of Parmenio died ſodainly. whome euery man greatly lamented.but chefely the kyng was ſo ſorowefull.deſiring to haue ſtayed for the celebracion of his burialll but that want of vitayles. cauſed hym to haſte forwardes. Philotas therfore was left behynde with two thouſand fyr hundred ſouldiers to perfourme the ceremonis appertening to his brothers burialll.and he hym ſelfe marched towardes Beſſus. In the way letters were brought to Alexander from the lordes there about.that Beſſus was comming towardes hym with a great army. adding thereunto that Satribarzanes whome he had made prince of the Arians. was newely re-

Nycanour.

Satribarzanes.

ly rebelled agaynste hym. For that cause notwythstandynge he was come nere vnto Bellus, yet he thought it best first to oppresse Satrebarzanes. and for that entent brought forwardes his horsemen and footemen that were lyght armed. to come sodaynly vpon his enemies. His comming was not so pryuye. but Satrebarzanes knewe and fled into Bactria with two thousand horsemen. For by reason he was not able to assemble any more in so shorte a tyme. the reste toke the next mountaynes for their refuge. There was a rock whiche towardes the west was hyghe and steape. but towardes the east more lowe and easye to be clymbed. vpon whiche parte it was full of trees. The same rock had a fountayne that ran continually with great plenty of water. and was in compasse two and thirty furlonges. In the toppe was a greene plaine full of grasse. where they placed the weaker multitude. but the rest that were apt for defence beyng to the nõbre of thirtene thousand. got them selues to the eggies of the rock. and there threwe downe stones and stockes of trees against the Macedonians that came to assayle them. He left Craterus to besyege this rocke. going hym selfe to pursue Satrebarzanes. And because he vnderstode that he was gone farre on his waye. returned backe agayne to the siege of them that were vpon the rocke. First he caused all thynges to be taken away. that myght be any impediment to them in the assault therof. But whē they came to the bare and steape rock. ỹ labour semed waste. where nature had wrought against them. But he that was of a disposiciõ alwayes to strue agaynst difficulties. considerynge howe hard a matter it was to go forwardes. and daungerous to returne backe agayne. did caste in his head all the wayes

The siege of a rocke.

and deuises that could be imagined. and nowe fantesied one thing. and then an other. as men be wont whē the waies they haue found out first. do not please them. As he stode in a stay in doubt what to doe. fortune did minister vnto him a meane, which neither wit nor reason could inuente. It chaunced that the wynde blewe soze at the south west. what tyme the souldiers had felled great plenty of wood. wherof thei thought to make them selues away vp against the rocke. and the heat of the sonne had made the same drye. When Alexander perceiued the wynd to blowe after that sozte. and the woode lieng in that place. cōceiued by and by his purpose. and willed moze trees to be cut downe. & laid vpō them. putting all other thinges to it. that were apt to kyndle and norysshe fier: So that trees heaped vpon trees. became as it were a mountaine. so hyghe as the top of the rocke. The same being set a fire in al partes at once. the wynde caried the flambe into the face of their enemies. & the smoke couered ouer the sky. The noise was then great that the fier made. which burned not only the trees that were fired of purpose. but also the rest of the woode growing nere there about. The enemies were so tormented with the flambe & heate of the fire. that they were enforced to forsake their place of strength. & attempted to escape away where the fyer gaue them lest impediment. But where the fier gaue place. the Macedons stode in redines to receiue them. so that they were consumed & slayne. diuers kynde of wayes. Some threwe them selues downe the rockes. some ran into the middes of ỹ fier. other fell into their enemies hāde s. and a fewe. haulf consumed with fier were take pysoners. Whē Alexāder had done this act. Artacnan. he returned to Craterꝰ. which besieged Artacnan. who hauing

hauing prepared all thinges in redines tarried only for the kinges cõming to giue him the honour of the winning of the Cytie. When Alexander was come he approched nere the walles with the towres of timbre that he had prepared for the assault. at the syght whereof the inhabitauntes were so afrayed that they held vp their handes from the walles requiring hym to spare them. and execute his wrath vpon Sattibarzanes that was the auctour of their rebellion. Alexander pardoned them frely. and not only leuied his siege. but also restored to the inhabitauntes. all thynges that pertayned to them. As he remoued from this Cytie. there came vnto hym a newe supply of souldiers. xolus brought out of Greece fyue hundred horsemen. and thre thousand footemen. whiche Antipater sent out of Flirria. and hundred and thirty Tessalian horsemen that came with Philip. who also brought of souldiers straungers out of Lidia. two thousand fiue hundred footemen with. iii. hundred horsemen. Alexander hauing thus encreased his power. entred into the countrey of the Drangans. whiche were a warlyke nacion. and vnder the gouernement of Nabarzanes. who beyng of counsell with Bessus in the treason that he committed against his prince. when he heard of Alexanders commyng. for feare of the punishement that he had deserued. fledde into India. Thus had they lien in campe nyne dayes. when Alexander being without feare of any enemy. and inuincible against all foren powers was brought in perill by treason of his owne people. It chaused that one Dymnus a mã of meane behauour and auctoritie with his prince. was greatly enflãbed in the loue of a young man called Nicomachus. with whõ he vsed much familier cõuersatiõ

Drangans.

A treasonc spired against Alexan

Dimnus. This Dimnus on a tyme beyng in a passion as it well appeared by his countenaunce allured this yong man into a Temple, where remayning alone togethers, declared that he had certaine secretes to shewe him, whiche in no wise were to be reported againe. Thereby he brought Nycomachus in great suspection, what the matter shoulde be: For before he woulde tell him, he made a protestation by the loue & familiaritie betwixte thē, that he would assure him by his oth to kepe ỹ thing secrete, who supposinge the matter to be of no suche weight, that he ought with periurie and breakynge of his othe to disclose the same againe, sware by the goddes there presente. Then Dymnus opened vnto him howe there was a treason conspired against the kinge, whiche within three dayes shoulde be put in execution, wherof (he saied) he him selfe was priuie with diuers men of nobilitie and estimation. When Nicomachus did heare it to be suche a matter, constauntlye denied then that his promise extēded to conceil treason, wherunto no othe nor religion coulde binde a man. When Dymnus hearde him saye so, he became in a rage betwixte loue and feare, and clasped the yong man by the hand, requiryng him with wepyng eyes that he would not stycke to be a partaker in the execution of this cōspiracye, or at the leaste, if his harte woulde not serue him, that he woulde kepe his counsaile secrete, in respecte that he had founde suche proufe of loue in him, to commit his life into his hādes without any further proufe of his fidelitie. But in conclusion when he perceiued that Nicomachus woulde in no wise agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the acte, he vsed diuers meanes to bring him to his counsaile, one while entreatyng him with fayre wordes, and an other while

Nichomachus.

threate-

threatenynge to kyll him. He called him cowarde and traitour to his frende commendyng the goodnes of the enterprise, and putte him in hope of greate preferm̃entes in that he shoulde be partener of the kingdome that went about to get. When he had proued all these waies, and yet founde him straunge, he thruste his swerde one while to Nicomachus throte, and another while to his owne. so that at lengthe by threating and faire speakyng he brought him to promise, both to kepe his counsaile secrete, and also to be assistaunte to the dede doyng. yet neuertheles as one of a constaunt mynde (though for the time presente he seamed to be wonne with the loue of his frende, & become agreable to his requestes) chaunged no parte of his former purpose. This done, Nicomachus required to know what the men were, that had confederated them selues in so weightie a matter, becaus the persons (he saied) were muche materiall that shoulde take so greate an enterprice in hand. Then Dimnus, though he were in great trouble of minde that he hadde brought the matter so farre forth, yet when he hearde him aske that question, reioyced, and thanked him greatlye, that he would freely associate him selfe with suche maner of men as Demetrius of the prouince chabre was, Peculaus, Nichanor, Aphobetus, Loetus, Violenus, Archetas, & Amintas. This communication once ended betwixt them, Nicomachus departed, and disclosed all the matter whiche he had hearde before, to a brother of his called Ceballinus: agreyng betwixt them two, that Nicomachus shoulde remaine styll secrete in his tente, least he beyng commyng to the kynges lodgynge, not vsyng to haue accesse vnto the kynge, the conspiratours might perceiue them selues bewraied. Fol. 11. Ceballinus

Ceball-

Ceballinus repaired to the kynges lodgynge. and taried before the gate. waityng for some manner about the kynge. to bryng him to his prince. It fortuned that amongest many whiche passed by. onely Philotas the sonne of Parmenio. demaunded why he waited there. To whom Ceballinus with a bashed countenaunce (wel declaring the vnquietnes of his minde) reported all those thinges whiche he had heard of his brother. requiryng him that he would declare the same immediatly vnto the kynge. Philotas departed from him vnto the kynge. with whom that daie he had much communication of other thinges. and yet opened no parte of the same matter whiche was tolde him by Ceballinus. At nyght as Philotas came forthe. Ceballinus mette him at the court gate. and enquired whether he hadde done his message to the king or not. He excused the matter. that he could find him at no leasure. The nexte daye Ceballinus mette him againe goynge to the kynge. and put him in remembraunce of that he hadde tolde him before. to whom he aunswered that he remembred it wel. but yet for al that. he disclosed no part of the matter. Ceballinus began then to suspecte him. and intended no lenger to differ the thynge. but opened the same to one Metrone maister of the kynges armorye. who immediatlye conueied Ceballinus into the armorye. and wente strayght to the kynge whyche was bathynge. and enfourmed him of all that he had heerde. Alexandre then made no delaye. but sente certain of his guarde to take Dymnus. and after came him selfe into the armorye. Whom assone as Ceballinus sawe. he ranne to him with great reioysynge. and sayd: Loe. I haue preserued the from the hades of thine ene-

Philotas.

The treason disclosed.

enemie. But Alexander examined him of all the circumstaunces. and when he againe answered to euerye poynte in order. The kynge was earnest to know howe longe it was sence Nicomachus had geuen him this information. he confessed that it was three dayes. wherupon the kynge consideringe that he coulde not with trueth haue concealed this matter so longe. commaunded that he shoulde be put in warde. Then cried he out and declared that at the same instaunt he knew of the conspiracye firste. he opened it to Philotas. of whom (he saied) he might enquere the trueth. Therupō it was demaunded of him. whether he hadde required Philotas to be broughte to the kynges presence or no. Whiche thynge when the kyng by his confession perceiued to be true. and that he did stifly abide by his first tale. he lifted vp his handes to heauen. the teares fallynge from his eyes. greatlye complaynynge that Philotas shoulde requite him with suche vntrueth. whom he moste assuredly trusted. Dymnus in the meane season knowynge for what cause he was sente for. wounded him selfe to death. but yet somewhat letted by thē that were sente to take hym. was broughte before the kynge. whom as sone as he beheld. saied vnto him. Dymnus. what haue I offended the. that thou shouldest thinke Philotas more worthy to be kynge of Macedon then I. At whyche wordes Dymnus became speacheles. and fallynge for the a greate sighe. turned his face from the kynges sight. and fell downe deade. The kynge called Philotas before him and saied: this man whom thou here seest should haue suffered death if it coulde haue bene proued that he hadde concealed two dayes. the treason prepensed against me.

Dymnus slew him selfe.

The kings wordes to Philotas.

with

with the whiche matter he chargeth Philotas. to whome (as he sayth) he gaue knowledge immediatly: the more nere thou art about me, so muche more greater is thy offence and the fault had bene more tollerable in hym then in the. Howbeit thou hast a fauorable iudge. for if there be any thyng that cannot be excused, yet at the lest it may be pardoned. To this Philotas nothing abasshed (if the hart may be iudged by the countenaunce) made aunswere. that Cebalinus brought hym a tale. the reporter wherof was ouer light of credit to be beleued. and that he feared lest by the presentyng of suche a matter whiche did rise vpon inabling betwixt two persones of euill disposicion. he might haue bene laught to scorne. But afterwardes when he once knewe that Dymnus had slayne hymselfe he was clerely then resolued no longer to haue prolonged the thyng. And so fallyng down before the kyng besought him that he would rather haue respect to his life paste. then to his fault whiche was only a consealement and no acte done. It is hard to say. whether the kyng beleued hym. or grounded his displeasure more deapely in his harte. neuertheles in token of pardon. gaue hym his hand. sayeng: howe it appeared that thaccusacion was rather misscredited by hym. then consealed of malice. Notwithstanding he called his counsell together. amonges whom Philotas was not admitted. but Nycomachus was brought in before thē. where he declared all suche matters as he before had shewed to the kyng. There was one Craterus in speciall fauour with Alexander. whiche for the nuie he had to Philotas aduauncement bare him alwaies grudge: who knew very wel that the kyng had often bene displeased with Philotas. for the ouermuche auaunting of his good

Philotas aunswere

Alexander called a counsell.

seruice

seruice and valeaunt actes: but yet for all that in those matters he was not suspected of treason. but onelye noted of presumption and arrogancie. Craterus thought that he could not haue a better occasion to oppresse his enemy. by colouryng his priuate hatred with a pretence of dutie towardes his Prince. Woulde God (quod he) ye had taken our counsaile in the beginnyng of this matter: for if ye woulde nedes haue pardoned ye shoulde haue kept from his knowledge how muche he was in your daunger. rather then to haue brought him in feare of his life. whereby ye shal make him more mindefull of his owne perill. then of your goodnesse. For he maie alwayes imagine your death. but you shal not be alwaies in case to pardō him. Let it neuer sinke in your hart. that he which purposed so haynous a treason. woulde chaunge his purpose for the beneuolence of a pardon. you knowe well that such as offende are often in dispayre of mercy. And though he perchaunce either with repentaunce of his faulte. or remembraūce of your goodnes woulde chaunge his minde. yet I am sure that his father Parmenio. generall capitaine of so greate an armye. and of so grounded auctho[illegible]itie amongest your souldiours (that is with theim in maner as your selfe) would be euill content to be in your debt for his sonnes life. There be certaine benefites hatefull to men. and it is shame to confesse to haue deserued death. Therefore I conclude. that he had rather it shoulde be thought you had done him wronge. thē that ye had geuen him his life. I can not see therefore. but you shall be enforced to destroye theim for your owne suertie. There be enemies enoughe remainynge yet vnconquered. against whom we be goyng: make your selfe sure from your foes at home. so shal ye haue lesse

nede

The opinio of the coũ saile,

nede to keate your enemies abrode. These were Craterus wordes and the residue of the counsail were of opinion that Philotas woulde neuer haue confessed this conspiracie. excepte he had bene either principall or priuye therunto. For thei thought there was no true man. or of honest hart. though he had bene none of the kynges familiers but one of his meane Seruauntes. hearinge so muche as Philotas hearde. but woulde forthwith haue opened the matter. yet he beynge the sonne of Parmenio. the master of the kynges horse. & of his priuie coũsaile. did not so much as the straũger. which straight waies made relation of that his brother had told him. And where as he pretended that the king was at no leasure. that thei iudged to be done to thentente the accuser shoulde not seke any other to whom he might vtter it. Wher as Nicomachus albeit he was bounde by his othe to the cõtrary. yet woulde he neuer rest till he had discharged his conscience. But Philotas when he cõsumed in maner the whole date in sport and pastime with the kynge. coulde not finde in his harte to caste forthe a fewe wordes. specially in a matter so muche concernyng the kynges safegarde. But admit (quod they) he had geuẽ no credite to the matter throughe the lightnes of the reporter. why shoulde he haue differred the accuser. ii. dates. as thoughe he had beleued it. For if he had misliked ẏ tale. he might haue dismissed the partye. It was also alledged that euerye mans mynde muche misgueth him. when the matter concerneth his owne ieopardye. Muche more ought men to be credulous when it touched the suretie of a kynges person. in whiche case it ought to be examined though it be of small weight. Thei al therfore determined that Philotas should be enforced to disclose ẏ par-

teners

teners of the conspiracie. The king cõmaundyng thẽ to kepe the matter secrete departed. and to the entente no inglynge shoulde appeare of this newe counsaile. he caused it to be proclaimed that the armye should set forwardes the next daye. The same night the kynge called Philotas to a bãcquete. with whom he vouchsafed not onelye to eate: but also familiarly to commen. notwithstandynge he hadde before in the counsayle determined his deathe. after in the seconde watche of the night. Ephestion. Craterus. and Erigonus whiche were of the kynges counsaile. came priuelye into the courte without lyghte. and of the esquiers there came Perdicas. and Leonatus. by whom commaundement was geuen. that all suche as laye neare the kynges lodgynge shoulde watche in harneys. By this time souldiours were appoynted to all the passages. and horsemen were sente to kepe the wayes. that no man shoulde passe priuelye to Parmenio. whiche then was gouernoure of Media with a greate power. Then Attaras came into the courte with. ccc. armed men. vnto whom there were appoincted ten of those that had the charge of the kynges person. euerye one of theim accõpanied wyth ten Esquiers. whiche were sorted into diuers cõpanies to take the other conspiratours. But Attaras with his. ccc. was sent to Philotas lodging. where wyth kiktye of the hardiest brake vp his chambre doze that was shutte againste them. The residue were commaunded to beset the house. least he might escape by some secrete waye. Philotas. whether it were through the suertye of his owne conscience. or through wearinesse of suche trauayle of mynde. was in so profounde and deade sleape. that Attaras brake in vpon him before he wyste. Attaras

But

Philotas taken.

But at length when he was awaked and come to him selfe, perceiuing them about to binde him: he exclamed and saied: O Alexandre, the malice of mine enemies haue preuailed aboue thy mercye. Speakyng these wordes, thei couered his face, and brought him into the courte. The nexte daye the kynge gaue commaundement that certaine of the men of warre shoulde assemble in harneys to the numbre of .vi.M. besides slaues and rascalles that filled full the courte, whiche beyng assembled together, the guarde compassed in Philotas with their bande, to the entent he shoulde not be espied of the people, vntill such time as the king might speake vnto them. For by an olde lawe of the Macedons the kynges in their owne persons were wonte to enquire in matters of treasō, yet could not the kinges authoritie preuayle to condempnation, except it were confirmed by the consent of the men of warre. Therefore the bodye of Dymnus was first brought into the place (the moste parte vnknowynge what he had done, or by what chaunce he was slayne.) Then came the kynge forth to speake vnto the multitude, whiche in his countenaunce declared the doloure of his hart, and the sadnesse of such as were nere about him, caused vnto the reste great expectation of the matter. He did caste his eyes towardes thearth, and stode long astonied and in a muse, but at length he plucked vp his spirites, & spake vnto them on this wise. By the treason of some men

The Oratiō of Alexandre against Philotas.

I was almoste taken from you, but through the mercy and prouidence of the Gods, I am yet preserued, your honourable presence dothe constreine me more vehemently to be moued against those traytours. Because the onely comforte and fruite of my life is, that I remayne to geue thankes to so many noble men, to whō

I am so muche bounden. With speaking of these wor-
des the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his ta-
le, and the teares did fall from their eyes. Then the
king began againe his tale. Howe much more will you
be moued when I shall shewe you the authours of so
horrible a treason, the rehersal of whom I yet refrain,
as one very loth to discouer their names. But I must
ouercome the memory of my former fauour & biter the
conspiracie of my vnnatural people: for how is it possi-
ble for me to hide so great a treason. Parmenio a man
of that age so depely in my dette, through the most am-
ple benefites both of me and my father, and whome I
moste estemed of all my frendes, is the captaine & con-
truer of all this mischef. His minister Philotas hath
procured Lencolaus, Demetrius, and this Dymnus
(whose body here you se) with other parteners of their
fury to my destructiō. Whē he came to that point there
rose throughout ỹ multitude a great chetme of a mur-
mur and complaint, suche as is wont to be amonges a
nombre, and specially of men of warre, when they are
moued either with affection, or displeasure. With that
Nichomacus, Metrō & Ceballinꝰ were brought furth,
euery one of thē geuing in euidence that they had spo-
ken afore. Yet appered it not by any mās tale that Phi
lotas was privy to that conspiracy. But at the last whē
the noyse was cessed, & the witnesses had said all they
could, the king proceded in this wise. Of what maner
mynd thinke you was this man whiche hearing the
whole report, could find in his hart to cōseale ỹ matter
the truth whereof is wel declared by the death of Dim-
nus. Ceballinus that reported an vncertaine tale, for ỹ
triall therof was afrayed of no tormentes, & neuer de-
lated the lest moment of time, vntill he had discharged

hym self, insomuche that he brake into the place where I was bathing, but Philotas only feared nothyng, he beleued nothing. O how greate a harte had this man whiche hauing knowledge of the daunger of his king, did neuer chaunge countenaunce, neither take so much paine as to heare out the tale of the accuser: but in this silence and consealement there is treason hidden, and the gredy desire he had to reigne, did driue him hedlõg to attempt extreme mischief. His father is gouernour of Media, and beareth suche a stroke amonges the capitaines and men of warre throwe myne auctoritie, that he hopeth for a great deale more then he hath. And because I am without children he estemeth me not. But Philotas is deceiued. I haue children, frendes, and kinsfolke amonges you. So long as you be in sauegard, I shal not reckon my self without heires. Then did he reade a letter that was taken, whiche Parmenio had written to his sonnes Nicanour, & Philotas, wherein there appeared no greate proufe of any great treason intended. Theffect was this: First take good hede to your selues, and then to those that long to you, so shall we bring to passe that we haue purposed. A letter.

" Whiche letter the king enforced, sayeng: it was written after suche a manner, that if it came to his sonnes hã-
" des it might be perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by the way, it shuld deceyue
" them that knewe it not. Then proceded he: nowe will Philotas perhappes saye that when Dymnus named
" all that were partakers of his conspiracy, he named not him: as for that it is no proufe of his innocency, but a token of his power and auctoritie, because he was
" spared of them that might best bewray hym, that confessing of them selues, durst not yet speake of hym.
" But what maner mã he hath bene, his lyfe doth shew.

He

he was fellowe and companion to Philotas my lyfe
man, whiche conspired highe treason agaynste my per-
sone in Macedon. He gaue his sister to marriage to
Attalus, then whome I had none greater enemye,
when by reason of olde frendshyp and familiaritie I
wrote to hym of the thynges that moued the oracle of
Jupiter Hammon, he did not sticke to aunswere: that
he was very glad that I was admitted into the nom-
bre of Goddes, howbeit it were sorye for those that shoulde
liue vnder suche one as would counterfete the state of a
man. These were playne tokens that his harte was
turned from me, and that he spited my glorye, whiche
I kept cleane in my harte so long as I myght. For I
thought my bowels pulled from me, if I should make
a litle sporte of them. for whome I had done so muche.
But now it is not their wordes that muste be punished
for the rashenes of their tongues is turned to woordes,
whiche (if ye beleue me) Philotas hath shotte to my
destruction. Whome if I should suffer to escape, alas
my souldiers whether should I go? to whom should I
commit my person? He was the man that I made ge-
nerall of my horsemen of the greatest part of myne ar-
my, & of all the noble yonge gentlemen. To his trouthe
& fidelitie haue I committed my sauegarde, my truste, &
victory. His father did I preferre vnto the same estate,
whereunto you aduaunced me. Media then whiche
there is not a richer countrey, with many thousandes
of your frendes and fellowes I haue put vnder his go
uernaunce and authoritie. Where I trusted of moste
surty, there found I moste perill. Howe muche more
happy had I bene to haue died in battell, and rather
slayne of myne enemies, then thus betrayed of my
subiectes. For now being saued fro the daungers that
I moste feared, I haue fallen into those that I ought

to haue doubted leſt. You haue bene wont often times to warne me that I ſhould regard my ſurtie. It is you that may make me ſure of that that you coũſell me. To your handes & to your ſuccour I flie. I would not late though I might againſt your willes, & though you wold yet can I not, except I be delyuered from theſe myne enemies. Hereupon Philotas was brought furth in an old garment, his hãdes bound behind his back. It wel appeared how much this miſerable ſight moued thẽ whiche late before enuied him. The daye before they ſawe him generall of the horſemẽ, they knewe that he was at ſupper with the king, & ſodainly they ſawe him both priſoner, bound like a theefe, & alſo cõdempned to dye. So did it pity their hartes to cõſider how Parmenio ſo noble a mã, ſo great a captain, whiche late hauing loſt two of his ſonnes, Hector & Nicanor, ſhuld be put to ſuch woe absent, with the third ſonne, whõ euell fortune had left him. The multitude being thus enclined to pitye. Amyntas one of the kinges officers, with a cruel tale ſet them all againſt the priſoner, we be all (qõ he) betrayed to the barbarous nacions, none of vs ſhal returne home to his coũtrey, wife nor frendes, but as a maymed body without an head without honour, without fame, in a ſtraunge countrey, ſhalbe a mocking ſtock to our enemies. His tale was nothing pleaſant to ỹ king, becauſe he put the ſouldiers in remẽbraunce of their wifes & coũtrey, wherby he thought they would be the leſſe willing to go forwardes in his warres. There was one Cenus which though he had maried the ſuſter of Philotas, yet did he more extremely inuay againſte hym then any other, calling hym traitour againſt his kyng, to his countrey & to the whole army. And therupõ tooke vp a ſtone that by chaunce laye at his feete, to haue

Amyntas tale.

Cenus.

eaſt at Philotas, which he dyd (as ſome thought) to thende he might rid him from raching. But the king kepte backe his hand. & ſaid þ the priſoner ſhould haue libertie to ſpeake for him ſelf & would not ſuffre him to be cõdempned otherwiſe. Then Philotas being admitted to ſpeak were it through þ cõſcience of his offence. or through the greatnes of his perill as a mã aſtonied. and beſides him ſelf, durſte neither loke vp nor ſpeake. but burſte out into teares. Whereupon his hart fainted and he ſwouned downe vpon thoſe that ledde him But afterwardes when he had wiped his eyes and by litle and litle recouered his hart and tonge, he made countenaunce to ſpeake. What tyme the kinge beheld hym and ſaid. The Macedons ſhalbe thy iudges. I woulde knowe therefore whether thou wilt ſpeake vnto them in thy countrey language or not. to whom Philotas aunſwered: There be diuers nacions here beſides the Macedons, which as I truſt ſhall perceiue my wordes the better. If I vſe the ſame language that you did, becauſe the moe myght vnderſtand your tale. Then ſaid the kinge marke howe this man hath his owne Countrey tonge in hatred, for ther is none but he that will diſdaine to ſpeake it: but let him ſay what he will ſo long as you remembre that he not onely diſdayneth our cuſtumes but alſo our language. And with þ word the king departed from thaſſemble. Then ſaied Philotas. It is eaſy for an innocent to finde wordes to ſpeake, but it is very hard for a mã in miſery to keape a temperaunce in his tale. Thus ſtandyng betwixt a cleare cõſcience & moſt vnhappie fortune. I know not in what wiſe I ſhal ſatiſfie my ſelf & the time both together. For he þ might beſte haue iudged my cauſe is gone. what þ cauſe is he would not here me. I cannot

The aunſwere of Philotas.

well imagen/ seth vpon the matter heard/ he seth onely in his iudges both to be chaunge & condemne me. For the matter not heard/ he can not acquite me beyng absent. sence he condempned me whe he was here present. But notwithstanding that the defence of a prisoner is not only superfluous but also hatefull. whiche/ semeth not to enforme the to reproue the iudge. Yet wil I not forsake my self. nor so do that I shal seme condempned by myne owne defaulte. I se not of what treason I shoulde be guilty emong the cōspiratours no man named me. Nichomachus named nothyng of me. Ceballinus could not tel more of me then he heard. And yet both the kyng beleue that I should be head of this conspiracye. was it possible that Mymnus should forget to name him that was chefe/ or is it likely that he wold haue ouerslipped me/ whē the names of the conspiratours were demaunded of him/ he would rather haue named me falsely to alure the yong man the sooner to his opinion. yet when he tolde ymatter plainly to Nichomachus. whiche he beleued verily would haue kept it secrete/ hauyng hym selfe and all the rest of me onely in mocion. wherin it can not be gathered that he charged me. for because he would haue spared me. I praye you my fellowes if no man had come to me nor geuen me knowledge of the matter. should I this day haue bene put to answere. whē no man could haue accused me. But bet that Mymnus were alaue & wold spare me. what thinke you by the other. would they cōfesse of their owne. & forbeare me. aduersitie is lyable to many miseries. An offender whē he is punished him self. dieth not to haue silence to spare another man. Comonlye he that goeth to death wil spare no man. no man wil spare him/ he is ready to dye. & yet so many as be giltye & put to tormentes

mentes,wil there none cõfesse the trueth? But now I must aunswere to the pount I was offence,if there were any. Why did I cõtemne treason? why did I beare it with so small regarde? this fault,if it were a fault,you hast pardoned me. O Alexander,wherein hast thou ant by geuing me thy hand & bidding me to thy banequet in token of atonement. If thou didst beleue me,I am clere. If thou forgauest me,I am quitte. Stand at the least to thine owne iudgemẽt. Alas what haue I done here this laste nyghte? I went from thy bourde. What newe reporte hathe chaunged thy mynde? I rested in a sounde slepe,when mine enemies by their bindyng wake me that was sleapying in myne owne misfortune. O fooles whẽ they can not slepe through their vnquiet cõscience are wont to be vexed with rages not onely when their mischefe is intended,but also whẽ it is ended. But this quietnes came to me first throughe mine owne innocencye: and then by the kinges pardon. I feared not that others cruelnes shoulde take more place then his mercye. Yet leaste he shoulde forthinke that he beleued me,ye shall vnderstande that the matter was fayre shewed me by a light felow,who could not bring any witnes or matãt of his tale,which if I had disclosed,should haue put many men to trouble. O vnhappy man. I thought mine eares had bene seduced with the babblemẽtes of two boggerers,and I suspected the trouth of the partie,beraule he did not vtter the matter him selfe,but procured his brother to do it. I was in feare that the one shoulde haue denied that euer he shewed anye suche matter to the other,and then shoulde I haue seamed to procure much trouble to many of the kynges frendes.

So that where I offended none,I haue found some

more desirous to procure my death then to saue my liefe what hatred suppose ye shuld I haue gotten if I had accused innocents: But Dymnus slew him self: could I therefore deuyne afore that he would so do: no surely. Thus his death being the thing that only tried the accusation vpon me. could not moue me to bitter it being preuented by an other. And if I had bene cõspiratour with Dymnus of so great a treason: It is not like that I would haue dyssimuled by the space of two daies after it was discouered: As for Ceballinus it had bene smal mastery to haue dispatched him out of ỳ way. After the thing dysclosed wherefore should I haue delayed the matter: I entred into the kings chambre alone hauing weapon about me. whye deferred I my purpose: but if I not attempt it with out Dymnus: no parchaunce ye woyll saye. because he was the cheife conspirator: how then standeth it to gither. that I should be his vnderling. which did couet to be king of Macedon: which of you al hath bene corrupte of me with bribes. what capitaine. what officer haue I made of aboue other: It is laide to my charge that I abhorre the speakinge of my countrey language. and that I disdaine the manners of the Macedons. What: do I so dispise the kyngdome that I couet: Ye knowe well that our naturall tounge through the conuersation of straung nations is gonne out of vre. as wel we that be victoures as they that be subdued must learne a newe language. But surely these things make no more against me then dyd the treason that Amintas the sonne of Pardycas intended agaynste the kynge. With whom I had frendshyp I woyll not deny. excepte ye woyll make it a thinge vnlawfull to loue the kynges brother. But sythens it was our dutie to honor a mã called to ỳ degre of fortune

ck fortune I beleeue you am I guilty because I coulde not gesse before that he would offend. Is the lawe so y the frends of offenders must suffre being innocents? If that be reason why liue I so longe: if it be no reaso why am I cõdempned to die? But then I wot that I had pitie of those that should liue vndet such a one as beleued him selfe the Sonne of Jupiter. O faithfull frendship and daungerous libertie of true counsel, that deceiued me, that compelled me not to hide y I thought I confesse that I wrote so to the kinge but not of the king. I dyd it not for spite, but for my duties sake. Wee thought it more meter for Alexander to haue knowledged the kindred of Jupiter with silence, then to haue made auaunt therof with vaine bosting. But forbicause the truth of goddes Oracle is certeine, lette god be witnes in my cause. Retaine me in prison till ye may know Jupiters aunswere concerning this cõspiracie. And in the meane season he that hath vouchsaued our kynge to be his sonne, will suffre none of them that haue cõspired againste his offspring to be vnknown. If you suppose tormentes more certaine then Oracles I wil not desire to be saued from them in triall of the truth. There is an olde vsage that such as be put to aunswere vpon life & death are wont to bring there parents and kinsfolks before you. Two brothers of late haue I lost, my father neither I can bringe forth, nor dare cal for, bicause he is accused of this treason likewise. Is it a small thing for him that was the father of many children, and hauing but one sonne left him in whom to take pleasure, not only to lose him, but also to lease his owne life with him? Therfore my most dere father shalt thou dye for me, & with me it is I that take thy liefe from the. It is I that ende thyne olde

dayes. Why diddest thou beget me vnhappy wretch in hatred of the gods: to take such route by me, as is prepared for the. I am in doubt whether my youth be more vnhappy or thy age. For I in the very floure of myne yeres am wedded vp: & the executioner shall bereue the thy life. Whiche if fortune would haue suffred to continew, yet nature would haue asked or it had bene lōg. The remēbraunce of my father doth put me in mynd, how loth & timerous that I ought to haue bene in reporting of tales. For when my father was enfourmed that Philip the phisicio had prepared poyson for ỳ king, he wrote a letter to warne the king, that he should not receiue the medicine, that his phisicion had prepared: was my father beleued: was his letter of any authoritie: I my self when I haue reported such thinges as I hard how often haue I bene shaken of with a check for my light belefe. So that when we tel thinges we are hated. & whē we hold our peace, we are suspected: what would you haue vs do: Then one of the company that stode by, cried out, ỳ none ought to be traitours to them that put them in trust. Thou saiest well (qō Philotas) whosoeuer thou art. And therfore if I haue done treason, I require no respect of my paine. And here will I make an end of speaking, because my last wordes seme tedious to your eares. And as he was speaking so, his keapers led him away. There was amōges the captaines one Belon, a hardy man but very rude of all honest maner & ciuilitie, who being an old souldier, was promoted frō lowe estate to the roume of a captain. This Belon presuming vpon a folithe audacitie (when all others had done) began to tell thē: that whē diuers had taken vp their lodginges in the campe, how they were thrust out by the seruauntes of Philotas, which would

Belons euidence.

lay

lay their baggage, where other mē were placed before. And how all the streates were ful of his wagons, ladē with gold and siluer. He added further that Philotas would suffre none to lodge nere him, but alwayes appointed certains to waite whiles he slept, which should voyde al men alongst the thintēt he should not be disquieted with any noyse not so much for wakening of him, as for his diseasing. And howe he was so hault that he dispised the plaine men of Phrigia and Paphlagonia, & being a Macedō borne, would not be ashamed to here men of his owne nation by an interpreter. And where as Philotas had before moued to haue the oracle of Iupiter enquired of, he sayd it was ment therby to make God a lier, for knowledging Alexāder to be his sonne, as though any man should enuie the king for that title whiche the goddes had geuen him. But whyle (qō he) did he not aske counsel of Iupiter afore he did defend. For nowe he would haue vs send for an oracle: that in the meane season his father which ruleth in Media might raise a power vp, & with the money y he hath in custody might assemble dispeat persones to the fellowship of his mischief. Neuertheles we shal (qō he) send to Iupiter, not to enquire of any thing towching the matter, but to geue him thankes, & do him sacrifice, for the preseruacion of so good a king. Then all the cōpany was moued, and amonges the kinges houshold there began a crye that the traytour shoulde be rent in peaces. Whiche thyng Philotas (who feared more greuous punyshement) was content to heare. The kyng returnyng into the preasse deferred the counsell till the next day, to thintēt to cōmit Philotas either to prison there to be racked, or els in the meane season to get further knowledge of thinges. And albeit, it drue towardes

nyght.

night yet commaunded he hys counsell to be called together. Some of them thought it best Philotas shoulde be stoned to death after the Macedõs lawes. Ephestiõ Craterus and Cenus determined to haue the trouth tried by tormentes. and then they which counseled the contrary turned to their opynion. Therfore when the counsel was broken vp. Ephestion with craterus and Cenus arose to take Philotas theraminacion. The king called Craterus vnto him and commaunding the rest to auoide had secret cõmunicacion with him in the innermoste parte of his lodging. the effect wherof came not to any mans knowledg. And their taried tyll the night was farre passed. to here thend of theraminacion.

Philotas racked

The executyoners set forth al sortes of cruel torments in the sight of Philotas who of his own mind said vnto them. Why deferre you to kill such one as hath confessed hym selfe the kings enemy and a traitour what nedeth more examinacion? It was myne intent. It was my wil. Craters mind was that whatsoeuer was confessed before. should be cõfessed by Philotas agayne vpon the racke. Whych whiles he was taken vp. hys eyes bounden. and spoyled of his clothes. cried out vpon the lawe of nature. and the gods of the countrey. But al was in vaine to their death eares. Fynally as a condempned man. he was torne wyth moste extreame torments by his enemies. that wronge him sore for the kinges pleasure. And notwithstanding that at the first fire on the one side. and scourges on thother were ministred vnto him. more to payne him then for any examinacion sake. yet he had powre of him self to refrayne both from speaking and groning. But after that hys body beganne to be bolne with stripes. & that he coulde not abide the scourges that persed vnto the bare bones

Then

Then he promised if they would torment him no more, he would confesse whatsoeuer they shoulde require to know. But first he would haue them swere by the life of Alexander, that they shoulde cesse their tormentes, & set the racke aside. The which thing obteyned, he saied to Craterus: Tell me what wil ye haue me to cõfesse: Therat Craterus was displeased, thinkinge by those wordes ỹ he had mocked him, & caused his tormentes to be renued. Then Philotas besought him to haue a time of respite, whyles he might take his breath, & then he would vtter all that euer he knewe. In the meane season, the chefe of the men at armes, & especially such as were nere to Parmenio in any degre of kinred, after that the fame had buted that Philotas was tormẽted, fearing the Macedõs law, wherin it was ordeined that the kinsfolke of suche as had done treasõ against the king, should be put to death vñ the traitors: Some slew them selues, some fled into wilde mõtaines, and waist wildernesses, & great dreade & feare fell through all the host, vntil such time as the king hauing knowlege of that byrore, made proclamation ỹ he would pardon the rigour of the lawe to the kinsfolke of the traitours. But in cõclusion Philotas made this cõfession, whether it were to deliuer him self out of paine, by accusyng him self falsly or not it is doubted. Seing it is cõmunely sene, that both such as truely cõfesse, & falsly denye, come all to one ende. You are not ignorant (quod he) how familier my father was vñ Egilocus. I meane the same that was slaine in the feild: he was the cause of all our mischiefe: For when the kyng toke vpõ him the title of Iupiters sonne, he disdained therat. Shal we knowlege him (quod he) to be our kyng ỹ taketh scorne that Philip was his father? We are al vndone

The confession of Philotas.

done if we can suffer this. He doth not onelye despise men, but ỳ Gods also, which wil be reputed a God. We haue lost Alexander, we haue lost our kyng. We are fallen to presumption nether tollerable to the Gods with whom he cõpareth, neither to men whom he despiseth. Haue we with our bloud made him a god, which despiseth vs: which disdayneth to be in the numbre of men? Trust me ỳ we also if we be men shall be adopted likewise of the Gods. Who hath reuẽged the deathes of Alexãdre his great grandfather, or of Archilaus or Perdicas? But this man (quod he) hath forgeuen the that slewe his father. These were the wordes ỳ Egilocus spake about supper time, and on the morowe early my father sent for me, who was heauy and sawe me sadde, for we both had heard that, which made vs out of quiet. Therefore to proue whether he babled those woordes through exceste of wine, or of an aduised purpose conceiued before, we thought good to send for him, & seking occasion of the same cõmunicatiõ, he of his own mind said further: that if we durst vndertake the aduenture, he would not shrynke from vs, or if our hartes serued not he would kepe our counsayle. Yet so long as Darius was liuyng my father thought all the matter out of time, because the death of Alexãder should be to the auaile of our enemies, and not of our selues. But Darius once ridde out of the waye, then he that could destroy the kynge should obtaine the empire of Asia, and all the orient for his reward, whiche coũsaile beyng approued, faieth and trouth was geuen therupon. But concernyng Dimnus I know nothing. When he had confessed all thys matter, I perceyue (quod he) that it dothe not auayle me that I am vtterlye giltles of this treason. Then they renued his tormentes againe, and

so

so beate his face and his eyes with the tronchyons of their speares, vntil they enforced him, not onely to cõfesse of him selfe, but also to shewe the circumstaunces of the whole treason prepẽced. Because (quod he) it semed ẏ the king would soiourne long among the Bactriãs, I was afrayed least my father that had so greate a power in his handes, and the keping of so much treasure, (beyng. lxx. yere of age) should happe to die in the meane season, & thẽ being disarmed of so great a strẽgth, should not get opportunitie to slea the kyng. Wherfore I hasted the matter, while the praye was in hand. Thus discouered he the conspiracye, wherof if thei beleued his father to be aucthour, he saied for his trial he refused not to be tormented againe, though it were to greuous for him to endure. The officers then whisperyng together thought the examination to be sufficient, returned therwithall to the kynge, whiche on the morow caused al the cõfession there to be opẽly recited before Philotas, whõ he caused to be led into the place, because he was not able to go, where he cõfessed all the matter againe. Then Demetrius was brought forth, whiche was counted the greatest doer in this conspiracye next to Philotas. But he with great protestatiõ and incredible stoutenes both of harte & coũtenaunce, denyed that he euer intended any euill against ẏ king, and for his triall desiered to be tormented. Then Philotas caslyng his eyes about, spied one Calis standing by, and made a sygne to him to draw nere. Who being abashed, & refusing to come forwards. Wilt thou (quod he) sufferr Demetrius to lye, & me to be strayned again. With those words Calis became speachles, & chaũged colour. Thẽ the Macedõs begã to suspect ẏ he wold accuse innocẽt, because ẏ same Calis was nether named

The seconde cõfession of Philotas.

Demetrius

Calis

by Nichomacus

Nichomacus nor by Philotas him selfe in his tormentes. But finallye Philotas before the kinges officers standing therabout, confessed that all the treason was conspired by him self & Demetrius. Wherfore as many as were appeached by Nichomacus upon a token geuen, were stoned to death according to the Macedons lawe. Thus was Alexander deliuered from great peril not only of his life, but also of his surety. For Parmenio and Philotas beyng of suche power, if thei had not openly bene found culpable, coulde not haue bene condempned without the great grudge of the armye. So long therfore as Philotas denied the thing, the matter semed doubtfull, and many men thought him cruellye handled. But after he hadde confessed the circumstaunces, no man, not so muche as his neare frendes toke any pitye of him.

Philotas put to death

The seuenth boke of

Quintus Curtius of the actes of the great Alexander kyng of Macedon.

(.c.)

The as the men of warre thought Philotas iustly put to death his offeuce beyng fresh in memorie. euen so after he was gone. whō thei ..... before hated, their enuye was turned to pitie. The noblenes of the yong man moued them muche. so did the remēbraunce of the olde yeres and desolatiō of his father. He was the firste that made the waye open for Alexander into Asia. alwaies partaker of his perils. as he whiche in the warres was euer captayne of his bo warde. chefe a counsaile with the kynge his father. and so trusty to Alexander him selfe. that in oppressing of Attalus his enemye. he would vse no other mans seruice. The remembraunce of these thinges was ripe among al the souldiours. & seditious wordes came to the kinges eares. who beyng litle moued therwith. did wisely with trauaile auoide the euel occasiōs cōming of idlenes. Wherfore he made it to be proclaimed that all men should be in redines before the court gate. where thei being once assembled. he came forth to speake vnto thē. And as it was before deuised. required the bande of the Agrians to bring forth one Alexander Lincestes. whiche long before Philotas. had cōspired the kinges death. This mā beyng accused of two witnesses (as afore is said) had remained in prison. iii. yeres together. It was also proued þ he was of counsell with Pāsanias in the killing of king Philip. But because he saluted first Alexāder by the name of king. his punishement was deferred. rather then his offēce

Alexander Lincestes

forgeue. For at the intercessiō of Antipater his father in law, the king had respected his iust indignation for the time. But the old festred sore brake out againe, and the cōsideration of his perill present, renued the remēbraunce of that þ was passed. Therefore when he was brought forth of prison, & commaunded to saye for him selfe, albeit he had .iii. yeres leasure to deuise his aunswere, yet stammeryng and tremblinge coulde bringe forth but litle of that whiche he purposed to saie, & finally both his memory and his harte failed him. Wherefore there was none that doubted but that his fearfulnes was a token of a guilty conscience, and no default of memory, so that whiles he was staggering and hackking in his tale, they that stode next thrust him through with their pikes, whose bodye conueied out of the place

Amintas & Simmānas brought to iudgement.

the kinge commaunded Amintas and Simmannas to be brought forth, for Palemon their yongest brother after he had knowledge of Philotas torment fledde away. Of al Philotas frēdes, these .ii. were most deare vnto him, & through his commendation, aduaunced to high & honorable offices. The kinge remēbryng wyth what earnestnes and labour Philotas had brought thē into his fauour, doubted not but they wer priuy to this last cōspiracy. And therupon he declared to the multitude, that he had occasiō of suspectiō against those mē long agoe by his mothers letters, wherby he had warning to beware of thē. and þ now fearing the sequel of worser incōueniences, had made thē sure, wherunto he was enforced by apparaūt presūptions. First he saied þ day before Philotas treason came to light. it was well known þ they had much cōference wt him in secrete, & also their brother which fled away whē Philotas was on þ racke, had declared by the absēting of him selfe the

Alexāders accusatiō against them

cause

cause of his kyng. He shewed also that of late, cõtrary to their accustomed maner of waiting, without any cause mouing thẽ thereunto, but only by pretence of diligence preased next about the king of all other, wherat marueilyng that they would furnish a roume whereunto thei were not appointed, became so in doubt of their clustering together, that he returned into the traine of the gẽtlemen ẏ folowed him. He declared besides that when Antiphanes clarke of the stable, the daye before Antiphanes
Philotas treasõ came to light, according to his accustomable maner, gaue knowlege to Amintas ẏ he should deliuer of his horse to such as had lost their owne: He proudly aunswered again, that except he would cõtent him selfe, he should know shortly what maner of man he was. Which violence of tonge, & rashnes of wordes bulked out (quod he) was nothing els but a declaratiõ & token of his traiterous hart. These thinges beyng true (he saied) thei had no lesse deserued thẽ Philotas, and if they were otherwise, he desired thei might aunswere vnto the pointes. Therupon Antiphanes was brought in to geue euidence of the horse not deliuered and of his proud aunswere geuẽ vn threatening. Whẽ Amintas had gottẽ libertie to speake, he desired of the king, ẏ whiles they answered for thẽ selues, their bãdes might be losed, which thing obtayned, he made suite to haue his garment cast vpõ him. Which Alexander not Thaunswer of Amintas
only graũted, but willed also such a spere to be deliuerd to his handes as other esquires vsed. When he had receiued the same, he eschued a little the place where the corps of Lincestes laye, & saied in this wise. Whatsoeuer shall become of vs (sir kyng) we muste thinke if our chaunce be good, ẏ same to procede of your fauour

& if it be yll we must iudge ꝑ fault to be in our fortune seinge you suffer vs to pleade our cause without preiudice. setting our mindes free. & our bodies at large. with ꝑ same apparel restored vs. wherin we were wõte to folow you. Our cause is suche that we cã not doubt of it. and we are passed the feare of fortune. Therfore with your fauoure I wil aunswere first those poyntes wherwith you charged vs laste. We knowe most assuredly that we be innocent of any kind of wordes spokẽ to the derogation of your maiestie. And durst affirme that you had ouercome all enuy of men. but that peraduenture you would thinke that I wente aboute with faire wordes to excuse thinges that haue bene maliciously spoken. Though it were so that wordes sometime did escape vs. either when we were faynte. or wery in marchyng. hasardyng our selues in fightynge. or elles when we were sicke. or dressyng of our woundes. our honest doynges otherwise do deserue. ꝑ ye shoulde rather impute the same to the time. then to any euil dispositiõ in vs. For it is commenly sene where any thing chaunceth amisse. al mẽ in maner become guilty of this fault. We do violence sometime to our owne bodies whiche we hate not. Yea. the comming of the fathers vnto the children sometime is bothe vngratefull. and also hateful. But on the other side. whẽ we receiue rewardes or giftes. or whẽ we come ladẽ home with spoyle. who can the stay vs: who cã restraine our chearefulnes: or who cã resist our courage in fighting: The nature of mã is nether to kepe measure in displeasure. nor in gladnes. Thus are we driuẽ by the violẽce of affectiõ. sometime vnto pitie. & sometime with fury. as our preset desire doth gouern vs. One while we are in mind to passe through India as far as the Occã sea. & by & by the memory of

our wiues.

wiues.childrē and countrey, call vs backe agayne. & dothe alter our purpose. But as sone as the trumpet bloweth straight al these imaginations do passe away. and euerye man then runneth into his araye. and reuenge vpon their enemies. the displeasures that haue conceiued within their lodgynges. I wouldo Philotas had offended but onelye in wordes. but passynge ouer that. I will returne to the other poynte wherof we be accused. The frendshyp y was betwene Philotas & vs. I will not onely not denye but also confesse that we did couet the same. I receiued therby great cōmoditye. Do you marualle that we did honoure and esteme the house of Parmenio. whom you did chose to be next about your persone. and did auaunce aboue all other your frēdes: you your self (if it please you to heare the trueth) are the cause of this our peryl. what other thing moued vs to couet Philotas frendshyppe. then that wee desired to please you. By his preferment we were aduaūced to that degree of your fauour. We stode in such case wyth you that it behoued vs as well to sue for his beneuolence. as to feare to get his displeasure. Haue not we sworne that we shoulde repute your enemies our enemies: and honoure your frendes as our owne: Should we haue bene found disobedient in thys bonde of our dutie: and specially towardes him. whom ye did preferre aboue al mē. If this be a fault ye haue fewe innocentes. or surely none at all. All men desired to be Philotas frendes. but all that did couet coulde not be accepted. So if ye will make no difference betweene the parteners of his treason. and suche as were his frendes. then so many be offenders as would haue bene his frendes. What presūption haue you now that we shoulde offende: I thinke because yesterday Philo-

tas talked vp vs familiarly alone. Therof I cā not excuse my selfe. if yesterday I chaūged any thing of mine accustomed maner & liuyng, but if so be we vsed euery day to do the like, then custome must nedes make it to be none offēce. But it may be said the horses were not deliuered to Antiphanes: and the day before Philotas was detected, this matter was betwene Antiphanes & me, for which cause if he wold make me to be suspected because I deliuered him not my horses that day. There shal rise a doubtfull plee betwene the denier & the demaūder, saying that his cause is better that kepeth stil his owne, thē his that requireth another mans. I had ten horses, of ỹ which Antiphanes had distributed, bill to suche as had loste their owne, so there remained behind onely two, which whē he would proudly & wrongfully haue taken away, I was enforced to kepe thē stil, except I would haue serued on fote. I can not denye but this cōmunicatiō was had betwene a man of a free stomake, & a person of a vile nature, which could do no maner seruice, but take away mēs horses, & geue thē to other. What mischef is this, ỹ at one time I must purge my selfe both to Alexander and to Antiphanes. But to the other poynte that your mother did write to you of vs, as of your enemies. I would god she had more wisely bene careful of hir sonnes safegarde, thē doubtfully imagined such fained figures. Why doth she not also expresse ỹ cause of hir feare: Besides she sheweth not hir auctheur, nor yet signifieth one word wherby she was moued to write to you suche letters of feare. O wretched estate of mine, whiche standeth in lesse hasarde to holde my peace, thē to speake. Yet howsoeuer the matter shall passe, I had rather mine excuse shoulde displease you, then my cause. If you remembre when ye

sente

sente me to fetche newe souldiours out of Macedon. ye shewed me that in your mothers house there lurked many lusty yong gẽtlemen, wherfore ye cõmaũded me that in executing your cõmissiõ I should spare none. but bryngе with me perforce all suche as refused the warres. Whyche thynge I did. and fulfilled your will therin more largelye then was expedient for me. For I brought vnto you Gorgeas. Nerateus. and Gorgata. whiche nowe minister vnto you right acceptable seruice. What creature therfore is more wretched thẽ I. which if I had not fulfilled your will. should rightfully haue suffered. and nowe perysshe because I obeyed you. For truely there was none other cause that moued your Mother to persecute vs. then that we preferred your vtilitie before a womans fauoure. I brought vnto you of Macedons. vi. M. footemen. & viii. hundred horsemen. of the which. the more part woulde not haue folowed me. If I hadde released suche as woulde not haue come. It is reason therefore. that in as muche as your mother is displeased wyth vs for your cause. that ye mitigate her. in whose displeasure ye haue put vs.

Whiles Amyntas was thus pleadynge his cause. thei þ had pursued his brother Palemon (of whõ we spake before) came leadyng him bounde into the place. Then the rage of the people could scarcelye be pacified. but as the maner was in such causes. thei would haue stoned Palemon to deathe. Yet he boldelye spake to theim and saied. I desire no fauoure for my selfe. so that my flynge be not hurteful to the innocency of my brethẽ. whom if ye can not thinke cleare. let the faulte be layed to me. For their matter appeareth the better. because I whyche fled awaye am suspected. Palemon.

Assone as he had spokẽ these wordes. the whole assẽble

were inclined in his fauoure, and resolued to reuenge beyng so sodainly cõtrary turned, that now they were al conuerted on his parte, whiche a litle before were al against him. He was in the prime floure of his youth, & though other mens feare, fled away amõgest those horsemen which were amased at Philotas tormentes. His cõpanye had left him behinde, & whiles he was in doubte whether he might turne againe, or ells further forwardes, was taken by them whiche pursued after him. He thẽ began to wepe, and beate him selfe about the face, not so much lamentyng his owne chaũce, as ꝑ ease of his brethren beyng in daũget for his cause, with which his behauour he moued the kyng, and al the cõpany there present. Onely his brother Amintas coulde not be pacified, but beheilde him with a fierce countenaunce, & saied: O madde creature, then oughtest thou to haue wept, when thou diddest put thy spores to thy horse, as a traitour to thy brethren, and a companion of traitours. Thou wretche, whether & from whence didest thou flye? Thou hast now brought to passe ꝑ bothe I am thought worthy of death, & also must become an accuser of other. Palemon therupõ confessed him selfe to haue offended in that pointe, but more greuously against his brethren, then towardes him selfe. Thẽ the multitude coulde not abstaine from weaping & showting, being tokens whereby men in an assẽble are wont to declare their affections, and with one consent they cried all to the kyng with one voyce, ꝑ he woulde spare innocentes, and men of seruice, his frendes also vpon that occasion did rise, and with wepyng eyes required the kynge of mercye.

Amyntas pardoned.

Then he commaũded silence, & saied: By mine owne iudgemente I do pardon bothe you Amyntas, & your brethren,

bretheren, desirous that ye should be more myndfull of my benefite then of your owne ieopardy. Come in fauour againe with me with that fidelitie I am reconsiled vnto you, except those thinges which were brought in euidence had bene debated and tried to the vttermoste, my dissimulacion might haue bene suspected in this matter, better it is therfore to be cleared then to remayne in Jelousy, and thinke that no man can be acquited except he be first detected. Thou Amintas pardon thy brother, & let that be a token of thy harte reconsiled vnto me. This done, the king dismissed the assemble. & sent for Poledamas, who of all men Parmenio loued best, accustomed alwayes to stand next hym in battayll. and though the clerenes of his conscience did assure him to come boldly, yet after he was commaunded to bryng furth his brethren being but young & vnknowen to the kyng, his confidence was turned into feare, and began to doubte, imagening in his minde rather surhe thinges as might hurte him, then by what meanes he was thus circumuented. In the meane seasō the guarde whiche had commaundemēt thereunto, brought furth his brethrē. When the kyng sawe Poledamas pale for feare, he called hym nere, and commaunding al men aparte, sayd vnto hym. Though Parmenios treason, we were all in daunger, but chiefly I and thou, whome vnder colour of frendshyp, he discreued moste: In the pursuyng and punishement of whome, see howe much I trust thy fidelitie, for I am determined to vse the as a minister therein, and whiles thou goest about it, thy brethrē shalbe thy pledges. Thou shalt go into Media and beare my letters to my officers, writtē with mine owne hand. It is necessary haste be made, that the swiftnes of the same may be preuented. I will that ye

Poledamas

Alexanders wordes to Poledamas

come thether in the night. and that the tenour of my writing be executed the day after, ye shall cary letters likewise to Parmenio. one from me. and an other written in the name of Philotas. I haue his signet in my custody. So that when Parmenio shall see both the, & the letter sealed with his sonnes ringe, he wilbe without any suspition. Polydamas being thus deliuered of his feare, promised his diligence a great deale more ernestly then he was required. When Alexãder sawe his promptnes in the matter. bothe commended his good will. and rewarded him accordingly. And Polidamas chaunged his owne apparell. and toke other after the Araby fashion with two men of the same countrey. to be his guide. for whose truth their wifes and children were pledges in the meane season. And so they passed on Camels through suche places as were desert for lacke of moysture. and within. xi. dayes came to their iourneys ende. before any knewe of their commyng.

Cleander. Polydamas then toke againe his Macedons apparell. and in the dead of the night. came into Cleanders lodging. whiche had the chiefe auctoritie there. next vnto Parmenio. When Cleander by his letters vnderstode ỹ kinges pleasure. Polydamas hauing more letters to deliuer likewise to others. agreed by the spryng of the day to go al togethers vnto Parmenio. As they were going. tidiges came to Parmenio of Polydamas arriual. who reioysing both for the cõming of his frẽd. and for the desire he had to knowe of the kinges estate (the rather because he had receiued no letter from him a long space) commaunded Polydamas to be sought out. The houses of that countrey haue large backsydes. and pleasaunt orchardes. full of trees beyng the chefe delight of princes. and greate lordes there.

The

The capitaines whiche had receiued commaundemēt by the kynges letters to kyll hym, came to Parmenio, walkyng vnder the shadow of the trees, beyng agreed amonges them selues to execute the thyng, when he should begynne to rede his letters. So sone as Parmenio had spied Polydamas comming a farre of, with a semblaunt of ioye (as it appeared by his countenaūce) ranne to embrace hym, and after salutacion geuen eche to other, deliuered the kinges letter. As he was vnclosing it, he demaunded of Polidamas what the kyng intended to do: you shall knowe that (quod he) by the content of your letters. Whiche when he had redde. I perceiue (quod Parmenio) that the kyng purposeth a voyage againste the Arocholians, surely he is a paynfull prince, and neuer in rest. But nowe after so much glory wonne, it were tyme for hym to take his ease, & haue consideracion of his health and sauegarde. And then he redde the other letter written in the name of Philotas, wherat he was ioyfull as appeared by his countenaunce. With that Cleander stabbed him with his swoorde into the side, & after striking hym ouer the throte the residue thurst him in as he lay dyēg. But Parmenios men whiche stode nere at hād, and sawe the murder, wherof they knew not the cause, ran into the cāpe, & with their troublous tydinges, set all those souldiers in a roze. Whiche streight ran al to harneis, & clustring together about the place where the murder was done, made an exclamacion, that except Polydamas & the other doers of that dede, were deliuered to their hādes, they would ouerthrow the walle and make sacrifice to their dead capitayne, with their bloud. Cleander willed the chiefe of thē to be let in, & recited the kinges letters, wherin was cōteined the treasō of Parmenio intēded

Parmenio slayne.

against

against him. with a requeſt to them to ſee it reuenged. Then immediatly vpon the kynges pleaſure knowen the ſedition was appeaſed.but the grudge was not rid out of their hartes. The moſte part departed. ſauing a fewe whiche required inſtantly that at the leſt they might be ſuffred to bury the body. It was denied the long.by reaſon of Cleander, who dreaded the kynges diſpleaſure. but becauſe they beganne to waxe more earneſt.intending to auoyde matter of ſedition. he cut of the head whiche he ſent to the kyng. and left them the body to bury. This was the end of Parmenio.a noble man both in warre and peace. many thynges had he done valiauntly without the kyng.but the kyng without hym did euer any thyng worthy prayſe. He ſerued and ſatisfied in all affaires. a kyng moſte happy & fortunate.and being.lxx. yeares of age.executed thoffice of a capitaine.as lively as though he had bene young in yeares.and pretermitted not oftentimes the partes of a common ſouldier. He was quicke in counſel.doubtie of dead.welbeloued of all princes. but moſte dere to the common ſorte of ſouldiers. yet whether thoſe thynges did moue him to couet to be kyng. or els cauſed hym to be ſuſpected therof. it is yet doubted. For whether the wordes that Philotas ſpake. whē he was ouercome with the paines in his laſt tormentes were true or falſe.or els that he ſought and end of his paine. by accuſing hym ſelf falſely. it was muche doubtfull. ſeyng there was nothing proued at ſuche tyme as the matter was moſte freſh in memory. Such as Alexander perceiued to grudge at the death of Philotas.were ſeperated from the reſt of the army.and put into one Cohort vnder Leonidas their Capitaine. whiche in times paſt was of nere familiaritie with Parme-

Leonidas.

nio

nto. the kyng bare prayse displeasiue against them. and therefore willing to proue the disposicion of euery man, gaue warnyng throughout the army. that all suche as would write into Macedonia. and haue their letters surely conueyed. should bring them to be caried with such as he would send. Wherupō euery man did write frēdely to their frendes. such thinges as were in their hartes. Some shewed thē selues to be offended with the long warres. and some semed to be well pleased. But all their letters were intercepted. aswell of suche as commended the kyng, as of those that grudged at his doinges. Wherfore he willed suche as by their letters disclosed them selues to be wery of the trauaill of the warres. for their reproche to be put in a band apart from the rest. Whereby he both gaue them occasion to shewe their hardines. and besides remoued the liberte of their tongues. from the credulous eares of the rest. Whiche rashe deuise as all other thinges. turned to the setting furth of the kinges felicite. For in al extremities they shewed themselues the redier and the moste forward. and whyles they coueted to redeame their reproche. their valiaunt doinges could not be hidden in so small a nombre separate by them selues. These thinges being ordred after this maner, he appointed a ruler ouer the Arians. and proclaymed his iourney against the Arialpians, whiche by chaunging of their name were called Euergitans. since the tyme that they reloued Cyrus army with lodging and vitel. beyng afflicted with colde and penury. It was the fift daye before he entred into their countrey. where he vnderstode that Satibarzanes whiche toke Bessus part was with a power of horsemen entered againe amonges the Arians. He sent against hym Caranus & Erigius. Arians. Euergitans

gius, and in their ayde Artabasus, and Andromachus, with fyue thousand Greke footemen, and fyue hundred horsemen. Alexander continued. ix. dayes in settyng order amonges the Euergitans, vpon whome he bestowed a greate soume of money, for the notable kyndlitie they shewed towardes Cirus, & leuing Amydines to be their gouernour, (who was Darius secretary) he went to subdue the Aracholiās, which border vpon the sea of Ponte. The men of warre that were vnder Parmenios rule, came then to Alexander, beyng fyue thousand Macedons, with two hundred of the nobilitie, v. M. Greke footemen, and two hundred horsemen, whiche were the chiefest portion of all his power. To these Aracholians, Wennon was appointed lieutenāt with .iiii. thousand footemen, and .vi. C. horsemen. Alexander from thence entred with his armye into a coūtrey not knowen to such as bordered vpō it. For the inhabitaūtes would not haue cōuersacio with any other people. They were called Paramisadans, beyng a rusticall kynd of men, & moste rude amongest all the barbarous nations. The hardnes of the countrey had so indurated their dispositions. They lye moste towardes the cōld north pole, ioyning with the Bactrians vpō the west, and bend towardes the Indian sea vpon the south. They vse to build their houses of brick, and because the land is full of bareyne mountaynes & voyde of timbre, they make their whole houses of the same. Whiche beginning brods beneth, growing euermore narrowe towardes the toppe endeth like the keele of a shyp, wheras a hole is made aboue to receiue light. Such of their vynes and trees that bring furth fruite, as they will preserue frō the violence of the cold, they couer thē with earth during the winter season, & when the

Amydines Aracholiās

Wennon.

Paramisadans.

the snowe to vanished away, they returne them agayne to the ayer and to the soune. The earth was then couered with such snow frosen so hard, that there remained no syght of any birde or beste within the countrey. The ayer besides was so darcke that litle light appeared, but the earth couered as it were with a skinne (shadowe) men could scarsly deserne thinges very nere at hand. The armye brought into this countrey destitute of all cultiuacion of man, suffred all the discommodities and miseries that might be endured, both of hunger, colde, wetrynes, and dispayre. There were many of them that died for colde, and the snowe destroyed their feete, but specially it perysshed many mennes syght. When they were wetied and not able to trauayll any further, they layd themselues downe vpon the frosen snowe. Whiche hauyng once left the mocion of their bodies, whiche stoyed in thē their naturall heate. They were streyght wayes so nummed for coolde, that they could not ryse agayne tyll they were left vp by their copanions. And remedy was there none in this matter but to compell them to go forwardes, for then by stoyng of them selues their naturall heat was renued, and they recouered agayne some strength. Suche as recouered the Cotagies wherin the countreymen dwelled, were very well refresshed. But the darkenes was so greate, that the houses could not be otherwyse deserned then by the smoke. The inhabiters that had neuer sene straungers before amonges them, when they beheld the armed men come sodaynly vpon them, were amased for feare, and brought furth what soeuer they had, to saue their bodies frō violēce. Alexāder went on his fete amōges his men, raising such as were

woere lieng. & releuing suche as he sawe afflicted with the cold with his owne clothes. He was sette one while in the forward another while in the middes. and some tyme in the rereward to the great trauaill of his body. At length they came to places better manured. where he refreshed his army with plenty of victels. & there remained in campe till suche tyme as all that were left behinde came vnto their fellowes. Then he went forwardes with his army to the mount Caucasus wch deuideth all Asia into two partes. For on the one syde it stretcheth towardes the sea of Cilicia. and on the other side to the Caspian sea to the ryuer of Araxes and the desertes of Scythia. To this mount Caucasus there ioyneth another mountaine called Taurus next vnto it in bignes. whiche riseth frō Capadochia & passing by Cilicia closeth with the mountaines of Armeny. Out of these mountaines ioyning thus together as it were in one continuall ridge all the ryuers of Asia do discende. Some of them running into the redde sea some into the Caspian and Hircanian sea. & other into the Sea of Ponte. In .xbii. dayes Alexander with hys army passed the mounte Caucasus. wherin a rocke that is. x. furlonges in compasse. and foure in height. the antiquitie fayned that Prometheus laye bound. At the foote of this mountaine Alexāder chase out a place to budd a cytie. wherin he placed. bii. thousand of the moste auncient Macedons. and such other besides. whose seruice he would not vse any more in the warres. and called the same Alexandria. But Bessus that was put in feare with Alexanders celerytie. made sacrifice vnto the Goddes of his countrey. and according to the custome of thase nacions. consulted with his frendes and his capitaines. for the mayntenaunce

Caucasus.

Taurus.

Prometheus.

Alexandria

naunce of the warres beyng at meate. And when thei were wel charged with wyne, thei extolled greatly their owne power, and despysyng the rashenes of their enemies, and their small numbre. But chiefelye Bessus was moste arrogant in his wordes, who puffed vp with pride by reason of the kingdome he had newelye gotten by treason, and not master of his wyttes, begā to declare howe that Darius by his folye hadde encreased his enemies fame, who woulde nedes fight with them in the straightes of Celicia, when by retirynge backe he myght haue drawen them (before they shoulde haue ben ware) into desert places, and there haue put riuers and mountaines betweene his enemies and him, and amonges the same so enclosed them, that they coulde by no possibilitye haue fledde away, and muche lesse make any resistaunce. Wherfore (be fated) he was become of opinio to go backe amōges the Sogdians, whereas the riuer of Orus shoulde be as a walle betwixte him and his enemies, tyll suche time as he myghte assemble a stronge power of the nations therabout: knowing very well that the Chorasmyons, the Bahans, and Sacans, the Indians, and Scythyans inhabitynge beyonde the riuer of Tanais, woulde come to his assistaunce, of whō there was none so little, that any Macedon with the toppe of his heade coulde reache to his shoulders. They al in their vyonkēnes assēted to him, affirming that onely to be the wisest waye. Wherupō Bessus caused the wine to be caried about plentifully to cōquere Alexander vpon wynke. There was at that feaste one Cobares a Median, whyche in the Arte Magick, (if it be an Arte, and not rather a deceyte of some vayne manne) was more notable by his profession then by his knoweledge, but otherwile a moderate

Bessus wordes.

Cobarus wordes.

and an honest man. He making a preamble before his tale: sayd. He was not ignorant howe muche more better it was to be obedient to others counsell then to be a counsell geuer. For suche as be folowers of other mennes deuises, are sure to haue no worse fortune then the rest; but suche as be authoures and persuaders of any matter, commonly prepare their owne peril, and therwith deliuered the cup he had in his hand, and proceded thus: The nature of man in this respect may be called peruers and euell, because euery one can se better in other mennes matters then in their owne. Their counsels must nedes be alwayes full of perturbation, whiche take their owne aduise. For feare is impediment to some, desire vnto other and to many, the self loue of the thyng that they haue deuised. I will not speake of pryde nor impute it vnto you. Ye haue sene experience howe euery man doth esteme that thyng only to be best, whiche he him self hath inuented. The diademe of a kyng that you were vpon your head is a great burden, whiche if it be not borne moderatly, the weight therof will oppresse the berer: It is not furye can auayle in this case, but wyse and prudent counsel. When he had spoken those wordes, he rehersed a prouerbe commonly vsed amonges the Bactrians which is, that the fearfull dogge dothe barcke more then he doth byte, and that the depest ryuers doth runne with lest noyse. Whiche thinges I haue rehersed, because suche prudence may appeare, as remayned amonges the Barbarous. As he talked after this maner suche as harde him, wondred to what ende his tale would come to. Then he began to shewe his aduise, whiche was more profitable to bessus then gratefull. Alexanders

ders celerity (qͦ he) is suche that he is come in maner to the entrey of your court. He can remoue his armye before you can remoue this table. You say that you will drawe your assistaunce from the ryuer of Tanais, and that you will put ryuers betwixt you & your enemies. I would know if he be not able to folowe, whersoeuer you shall flee. If the way be indifferent, it must nedes be moste easy and assured to the victorer. And though you thinke feare wil make much spede, yet hope is more swifter. It were therfore me thinkes expedient to procure the fauour of hym that is the mightiest, and yelde your self vnto the stronger. Howe soeuer he shal accept it, your fortune is more lyke to be better that way, then to remayne still an enemy. Consider that you possesse another mans kyngdome, and therfore ye may the better departe therwithall. For ye cannot be a iust kyng, till you receiue the kyngdome of hym that is able to gyue it, and take it away. This is a faythfull counsell, wherfore it is not necessary to delay the execution therof. The horse that of noble courage is gouerned with the shadowe of a rodde. But the dulle beast is not pricked forward with the spoores. Bessus that was fierse of nature and well set forwardes with drynking, became in suche a fury with his wordes that he could scarsely be holden by his frendes, from the sleing of Cobares, for he pulled out his sworde to haue done the dede, and departed out of the feast in a greate rage. But Cobares in this store escaped away & came vnto Alexander. Bessus had. viii. M Bactriās armed attending vpon him. Which so lōg as they iudged ẏ by reasō of the intēperatnes of the ayre in those partes ẏ

Macedons woulde rather haue gone into Inde then into Bactria: were verye obediente at his commaundemente. But when they vnderstode that Alexander was commynge towardes theim, euerye one shronke away and forsoke Bessus. Then he with a band of his familie whiche were yet faithfull vnto him, passed the
Cyrus riuer of Oxus, burnynge suche boates as caried him ouer, because that the same shoulde not serue his enemie in folowynge him, and assembled a newe power amonges the Sogdians. Alexander as it hath ben said before passed the mounte Caucasus, but for lacke of corne his army was brought in maner to the extremitie of höger. In stede of oyle they were fayne to noint theim selues with iuse whiche they wringe out of Sesema, but euerie measure therof called Amphora, was solde for. cccl. deners, euery like measure of honye for cccc. and of wyne for. ccc. and yet of the same was verye litle to be gotten. They haue in that countrey certaine vessels called Syri, which thinhabitaūtes vse to hide so priuely that they can not be fould, except they be digged for within the earth. The coūtrey men bury their corne after that maner, for want wherof the souldiours were fayne to lyue with herbes, and suche fishe as thei caught in the Riuers. But that kynde of fode wantinge also, they were enforced to slea their beastes that caried their baggage, and with the flesshe of theim liued till thei came into Bactria. The nature of the
The descripcion of Bactria. soyle of whiche countrey is diuers and of sundrye kindes. Some place is plentifull of woode and vines, and aboundaunte of pleasaunte fruite, the grounde fatte, well watered, and full of springes. Those partes which be most temperate are sowed with corne, and

the

the reſt be reſerued for ſedyng of beaſtes. But ꝑ greater part of that countrey is couered ouer with baraine ſandes & withered by for want of moiſture nourſhyng neither man nor bringinge forth fruite. But with certaine windes that come from the ſea of Ponte, the ſād in the plaines is blowen together in heapes, whiche ſeme a farre of like great hilles, wherby the accuſtomed wayes be damned, ſo that no ſigne of them can appere. Therfore ſuch as do paſſe thoſe plaines, vſe to obſerue the ſtarres in the night, as thei do that ſayle the ſeas, & by the courſe of thē direct their iourney. The nightes for the more parte be brighter then the dayes, wherfore in the daye time the countrey is wild and vnpaſſable. when they can neither finde any tracte nor waye to go in, nor marke or ſigne whereby to paſſe, the ſtarres beyng hidden by the miſte. If the ſame wind chaunce to come duryng the time that mē be paſſyng, it ouerwhelmeth them with ſande. Where the countrey is temperate, it bringeth forth great plenty both of men & horſe So that the Bactrians may make. xxx. M. horſemen. Bactria whiche is the heade citie of that region, ſtandeth vnder a mountaine called Parapanīſus, the riuer called Bactras runneth by the walles, wherof both the citye and the countrey take their names. Alexander lyng there in campe, receiued aduertiſemēt out of Grece, how the Lacedemonians, and the whole countrey of Peliponeſe had rebelled againſte him. For thei had not loſt the battail at ſuch time as the meſſegers were diſpatched that brought the newes of their reuolt. In the necke of this euil tidinges, there came another preſente terroure: whiche was that the Scythians inhabityng beyonde the riuer of Tanays were comming to ayde Beſſus. And at the ſame tyme tidynges was

Parapanīſus.
Bactras.

Caranus. Erigius. brought him of the battayle that Caranus and Erigius hadde fought amonges the Arians, where Satybarzanes that was newlye reuolted beynge chiefe of the countrey, seynge the battayle to stande equall on bothe sides, rode into the fore fronte, and plucked of his helmet, forbiddyng anye of his syde eyther to caste darte or strike anye stroke, and there make a chalenge to fight hande to hande, if any man durste come forthe and proue his strength. Erigius capitayne to the Macedons was a man stricken in yeres. But yet not inferiour to any yong man, either in stowtnes of stomake, or strength of bodye, who could not beate the proud arrogancy of Satibarzanes, but stepped forwardes, and pluckyng of his helmet likewise, shewed his hoar heer. The daye is come (quod he) that I will shewe either by the victorye or by my honest death, what kynde of men Alexandre hath to his frendes and his souldiours, and without more wordes made towardes his enemye. It coulde not be iudged but that bothe armies had stayed their handes by appoyntmēt. For they gaue backe immediatly on both sides to let thē haue free scope eche party standyng in expectatiō what should become of ỹ chalengers, for thei could not but thinke them selues partakers of their aduēture. Satibarzanes first charged his staffe, whiche Erigius auoyded by bendynge hys heade aside but he in the middes of his race, strake the other with his spere through the throte, so that it came forth againe at his necke. Satibarzanes vpon that stroke fell from hys horse, but yet made resistaunce, tyll suche tyme as Erigius plucked the speare oute of the wounde, and thruste it agayne into his mouth who to rydde him selfe oute payne, furthered his enemies

Satibarzanes slaine

stroke.

stroke. Then the Arians seyng their capitayne slaine whom they hadde folowed rather of necessitye then of their owne free wylles, called to remembraunce Alexanders benefites and yelded them selues to Erigius. Alexander reioysed muche of the good successe of this matter, doubtynge greatelye the Lacedemonians, but he bare out the rebellion stoutelye, satynge: that they durste neuer disclose their meanynge, tyll they knewe he was come to the confines of India. Alexander hauynge remoued his Campe, and goynge forwardes in the pursuite of Bessus. Erigius mette him, presentynge the spoyle of his Enemye, as a memorye of his victorye. Wherupon he committed the rule of Bactria to Artabasus. Where wyth a guarison he left his cariage, and wyth a power that was lyght to iourney, entered into the desertes of the Sustanes, conueiynge his army by nyght. In the wante of water (that hath bene declared before) desperation moued theim to thirst before they had desire to drinke. For by the space of .iiii. C. furlonges, they founde no water at all. The vapoure of the Sunne beynge in the sommer season did so burne the sande, that whē it began to waxe hote it starched all thinges as it had bene with a continuall fire. And then the lyght somewhat obscured by a mist that rose out of the earth by the immoderate heate, caused the playnes to haue appearaunce of a maine Sea. Their iourney in the nyght seamed tollerable, because their bodyes were somewhat refreshed with the dewe and the coolde of the mornynge. The Sustanes.

But when the daye came and the heate rose, then ꝑ drought dryng vp al ꝑ natural humoures both their

mouthes and their bowels were enflamed for heate. Then their hartes failed and their bodies fainted. beynge in case that thei could neither stand styl nor passe forwardes. A few that were taught by suche as knew the countrey had gotten water whiche refreshed them somewhat, but as the heate encreased, so their desire grewe againe to drinke. Then was there no remedye but to geue amonges the souldiours all the wine & oile that remained in store. For drinke was so swete vnto them that it toke away the feare of any thirst to come. But suche as had gulled in gredely the water that thei gote, became so heauye, that they were neither able to beare their armoure, nor go forwardes, so that thei semed then moste happy that had gotten no water at all. for suche as had take of it inordinately, were enforced by vomit to put vp the same againe. As Alexander carefull in this calamitie stode with his frendes that wer perswading of him to haue respect to him self. for that he onely and the greatnes of his harte, should be relefe of this aduersitie. There came two souldiours, whiche goynge before wyth suche as had taken vp the campe had founde water, and were carrynge of it in bottelles vnto their sonnes whiche were sore afflicted for wante of drincke behynde in the armye. When they sawe the kynge, one of theim opened his bottell, and fillynge a cuppe that he had, presented water to the kynge, who receiuing it at his hande, demaūded to whom they caried that water: they saied to their sōnes. Then he restored to him the cuppe again ful as it was geuen him, and saied: I wyl not drynke alone, for so lyttle can not be deuided amonges vs all. Make you haste therefore to carye to your Sonnes that you haue gotten wyth your trauayle.

But

But he trauayled so long that before night he came to the ryuer of Orus, the more parte of the army, not able to followe, for feblenes were left farre behind: to thintent therefore that suche as followed after, might know where the campe was become. He caused a fier to be made in the toppe of an hille, and gaue order that when the vowarde had refreshed them selues with meate & drinke, they should fill their bottels, with water and go back with thesame to releaue their fellowes. The breath of suche as dronke intemperatly closed vp, and they died immediatly, the nombre of whom was greater, then euer Alexander lost in any battayll. But he would neither put of harneys, refreshe hym self with meate or drinke, nor ease his body: but stode in the way where his army passed, not departing till the last man was come into the Campe. He watched all that night, and passed it ouer in great trouble of mynd. And the daye that ensued, brought no release of his care. For there were neither bootes to passe the ryuer with all, nor he coulde make any bridge seyng there was no wood growing nere at hand. But at length he found out a deuise whereunto only necessitie did dryue hym. they tooke beastes skynnes & stuffed thē full of strawe. wherupon they layd them selues, and some swomme ouer the water. And suche as first recouered the further syde, stode in order of battail till the rest were passed: by whiche meanes in syre dayes he conuoyed ouer his hole armye. Hauing thus passed ouer the ryuer of Orus, his purpose was to passe forwardes in the pursuit of Bessus, till he vnderstode suche thinges as had chaūced amōges the Sultans. There was one Spitamenes, whome Bessus chiefly honored of al his frēdes. But there be no benefites that can staye a man

Spytamenes conspyred against Bessus.

geuen to perfidie and falshode, whiche in him was the more tollerable because he iudged no mischief to great for him that hath slayne his prince. For the reueng of Darius was a faire colour to his offence, but it is to be thought that his present fortune was more enuied, then his doinges by past hated. When it was knowen that Alexander had passed the ryuer of Oxus, Spitamenes did associate with hym in counsell of his enterprise Bataphernes and Catenes, whome Bessus specially trusted. They agreed to the matter more redely then he would desire them, and takyng to them. viii. young men that were strong of personage, vsed this kinde of polecy. Spitamenes repayred to Bessus, and getting hym alone, enformed hym that he had found out howe Bataphernes, and Catenes, had conspired to deliuer him aliue into Alexanders handes, whereas (he said) he had preuented thē, whiles they were about their purpose, hauing taken them both, & put them fast in prison. Bessus then thinking himself murhe bound to him for so greate a good turne, gaue him many thākes. And for the desire he had to be reuēged of his enemies, willed Spitamenes to bring thē to his presence. He caused their hādes to be bound behind their backes and to be brought by suche as were priuy to their counsell, when they came in Bessus presence, he beheld thē with a fell countenaunce and rose vp to haue stricken at them. But thē they left their coūterfeiting & streyght wayes enclosing Bessus about, bound him fast whiche strugled in vayne and pulled the diademe frō his head, tearing his garment from his back, whiche was parte of the spoyle of his prince, whome he had slayne. When he sawe hym self thus vsed, he confessed that the gods had ryghtfully reuenged his treason, and perceyued

Bataphernes. Catenes.

by the

by the plague they sent hym, that bothe they fauoured Darius, and were frendes to Alexander, whose enemies euermore preferred his victory. It is vncertain whether the multitude would haue assisted Bessus or no, but that Spitamenes had deuysed the thyng to be done by Alexanders appointment, whereby he put them in feare being yet doubtfull of mynde, and set Bessus vpon an horse whereupon he brought hym vnto Alexander. He in the meane season had chosen out nyne hundred suche as for their age, were not mete any more for the warres, and gaue to euery one of them beyng horsemen two talentes, and to euery footeman thre thousand deneres: whome he dispatched home, and gaue thankes vnto thereste, because they promised to continewe with hym tyll he had brought his warres to an ende. Bessus was presented vnto hym at a litle towne wherof the inhabiters be called Brancheidans, whiche in tymes paste by the commaundement of Xerxes when he came out of Grece, were brought from Miletum and placed there, because that in his fauour they had violated a temple that was called Didyma. They had not all together forgotten their countrey customes, but had myxed their tongue that by little and little they were fallen from their owne language, and yet had not attayned the countrey speache. They receyued the kyng with great ioye, yealdyng them selues and their cytie vnto his will. Whereupon he called vnto hym the Mylesians that serued hym in his warres, (who bare an auncient hatred against the generacion of the Branchidans) & put it in their handes to determine where they would saue the for ỹ countrey sake, or els destroy the for the iniury they

Branchidans.

Milesians

they had done in times past. But when the Milesians could not agre in opinion, he said he would order the matter him self. The next day when the Branchidans came to mete him, he returned them all againe into the cytie, & cõmaunding his footemen to enclose the cytie about, entered with suche as he appointed for the purpose and by a token geuen put all to the swoorde, and spoyled the cytie as a receptacle of traytours. They whiche were without armour and vnprouided were slayne in euery place. For neither the affinitie of their tongue, nor any prayer or intercession could mitigate their enemies crueltie. Whiche after the destruction of the towne, did cast downe the walles to the foundacõ, so that no memory therof should remayne. That done they did not only cut downe the woodes wherin they vsed their sacrifice, but also plucked vp the trees by the rootes, that the ground might be left barayn as a desert. If the same thinges had bene done againste the very offenders, the reuenge might haue bene thought rightuous. but to lay the fault of the predecessours vpõ the posteritie it might be thought a cruell acte, seing there was not any of them that had euer sene Miletum, or done to Xerxes any kynd of pleasure. As Alexãder remoued from thence towardes the ryuer of Tanays, Bessus was brought before him, not only bound as a captiue, but also spoyled of all his garmẽtes. whõ Spitamenes led in a cheine put about his neck: a pleasaunt sight to beholde as well to the Barbarous, as to the Macedons. When Spitamenes was come with him in Alexanders presence, he sayd: I haue brought here vnto you the kyller of his owne maister, after the same maner that he him self gaue thensample, wherin I haue both reuenged Darius that was my king and

Bessus presented vnto Alexander.

you also that nowe haue got the soueraignty. Let Darius open his eyes and ryse from death to beholde this sight, that was vnworthy of such an ende, and worthy to receiue such a cõfort as this is. After that Alexander had geuen Epitamenes thankes, he turned hym self vnto Bessus and sayd: what beastly woodnes was in thy mynd, that durst first take thine owne prince prysoner, & afterwardes kill hym, that had so well deserued of ỹ, of whiche thy doinges thou hast receiued sufficiẽt rewarde, by the counterfeit name of a king whiche thou diddest vsurpe. Ye had no hart to make anie were, nor excuse his offence: saying that he sayd he toke vpon him to be kyng, because he might deliuer hym possession of the countrey. Whiche thing if he had omitted, some other would haue taken in hande. Then Alexander called for Oratres Darius brother, whome he had placed about his persone, and committed Bessus to his keaping, to thintent he should cutte of his eares and his nose, and hang hym vpon a crosse, causing his owne men to shote him thorowe with arrowes, so preseruing his body that byrdes should not touche it. Oratres promysed to perfourme all the rest, saiuing the keapyng awaye of the byrdes, whiche for the despyte he had to set forth Cathenes conning, affirmed that none could so well keape them away as he, who did shote so assuredly, that he could strike the birdes flyeng in the ayer. And though it was a conning not so muche to be marueiled at, in a nacion so expert in shooting, yet was it greatly wondred at of suche as did beholde hym, & was great honour vnto the doer. He gaue rewardes to all such as were the bryngers of Bessus, but he differred his punishemẽt because he mynded to put him to death in the same place where he slewe Darius. The Mace-

Alexander to Bessus.

dons

dons in the meane season going a forraging, without order were ouerthrowen by their enemies, that came runnyng downe from the next mountaines they toke mo then they did kille, and driuing their prisoners before them returned againe into the mountaines. There were of them to the nombre of .xx. M. whiche accustomed to liue by theft, vsed slinges and bowes in their fight, whome whiles Alexander did besiege, & in a skirmish pressed forth with the foremoste, he was stroken with an arrowe in the middes of his legge, where the hed did stike still. The Macedons that were sorowfull and amased for their kinges hurt, caried him into his campe, of whose departure out of the field his enemies were not ignorant, for they might behold all thinges from the mountaine, wherupon the next day they sent Embassadours vnto Alexander, whom he admitted to his presence, & vnfolding his wound, whereby he thought to dissimule the greatnes therof, shewed his legge vnto them. When they were commaunded to sit downe, they said: that hering of his hurte, they were as sorowfull for it as his owne subiectes whiche should welbe knowen, for if they could find out the persone, that did the dede, he shuld be deliuered vnto his hãdes. Seing they could not iudge them but sacrileges that would fight with goddes, of whose vertue they supposed hym to be, and therfore were determined to yeld thẽ selues. Thervpon he gaue them assuraunce & receiued againe his men that were takẽ prisoners, and admitted them as his subiectes. That done he remoued his campe & was caried in a foote litter, for the bearing wherof the horsemen and footemen cõtended together. The horsemen alledged it to be their office, because the king accustomed to fight amonges them. And the footemen

argued

argued for their parte, that in asmuche as they vsed to cary the hurt souldiers, they thought no reason their office should be taken from them, chiefly when the kyng should be caried. Alexander therfore in so great a contencion of both partes, thought it a difficult matter to geue sentẽce, because the iudgemẽt should be greuous to them that should be put frõ the office, & therfore ordred that they should cary him by course. Frõ thence ỹ fourth day he came vnto a citie called Maracanda the walles wherof were .lxx. furlõges about, but the castle was without any wall, he set a guarrison in the citie & then burned and destroied the countrey thereaboutes. Maracanda

Embassadours came vnto him there frõ the Scythes called Auians, whiche had bene free sinee the time that Cyrus was amonges them, but yet they shewed them selues then redy to be at his commaundement. They were knowen to be the moste rightuous people of all the barbarous nacion[illegible] in that neuer vsed to make warre but when they were prouoked, whose moderacio and temperaũce in vsing of their libertie, made the inferiours equall vnto the superiours. Alexander receiued them gently, and sent Penidas a frend of his to those Scithes that inhabited within Europe, to forbid thẽ to passe the riuer of Tanais without his appointment. Who had also a secrete commission to viewe the scituacio of the countrey, & to visit those Scithias that inhabited about Bosphorus, he willed him besides to choose out a place vpõ the brinke of Tanais where as he might build a citie, to remain as a fortres for ỹ subduing of those people ỹ he entended to visite. But this deuise was delayed by the rebellio of ỹ Sogdias who had alse drawen ỹ Bactrias to their part. There were of thẽ .vii.m. horsmẽ, whose autoritie ỹ rest folowed, for the daun- The Scythians

Penydas.

The rebellion of the Sogdians

daunting of whome Alexander caused Sysytamenes and Catenes (the betrayers of Bessus) to be sent for, thinking by their meanes to bring the countrey agayn to his obedience and to subdue suche as had made this sturre. But they whiche were iudged mete to slay the rebellió, and were sent for to that intent, were the chief authours of all the reuolt, whiche caused it to be noysed abrode, that Alexander had sent for the Bactrian horsemen of purpose to kill them all. Whiche commission (they sayd) being appointed to them, they would not execute, because they thought it ouer foull an act to commit against their countreymen. And for that cause could as ill beare then Alexanders cruelte, as in times past Bessus treason. By this meanes when feare of death was put into their heades, they were easely stirred to armes, whiche before were sufficiently enclyned of their owne myndes. When Alexander was aduertised of their doinges, he sent Craterus to beseige Cyropolis. And he him self wanne an other city of that countrey by an assault whiche he gaue to it on all partes at once, and by a signe geuen, caused all the chylder to be put to death, making the rest a pray for the souldiers. This done the cytie was rased to the ground, to thintent that others by their ensample might be kept in obediene. There was a valiaunt people called Memacenans, who were determined to abide the siege, not only for their honesties sake, but also for that they thought it moste for their suertie. For the mitigating of whose wilfulnes the kyng sent to them fifty horsemen to declare his clemency towardes suche as submitted them selues, and howe inexorable he was to suche as he wan by force. Their answere was to them, that they neither doubted of the kynges promis, nor of

Cyropolis.

Memacenans.

his

his power, but after their answere geuen, they lodged them without their walles, where as entertetning thē with great chere till it was the depe of the nyght, they set vpon them, and slewe them all. Alexander was no lesse moued with this matter, then the case required, but made an assault vnto the cytie on all partes at once, whiche he found furnisshed in suche wyse, that he could not take it at the first attempt. Wherfore he appointed Meleager and Perdicas to the siege therof, whiche first were at the siege of Ciropolis, mynding to spare thesame, becaūse it was builded by Cyrus. For he had not so great admiracion of any kyng that had reigned in those partes as of hym, and Semyramis, whose magnaminitie of mynde and fame of their actes, semed to hym to excede all the rest. But the obstinate wilfulnes of the inhabitauntes, slurred vp his wrath. For when he had taken the cytie, he willed the Macedons to spoyle it, whiche had great cause to be moued againste them, and so returned agayne to Meleager and Perdicas. There was not one cytie that did more valiauntly abide the siege then the same did, for both the hardiest of the souldiers were slayne, and the kyng was brought in great daunger, being striken in the necke with a stone, so that he lost his sight, and was felled to the earth so that he lost his sence. The army lamēted, thinking he had bene dead: but he was inuincible againste those thinges which put other men moste in feare. For without tarieng he dressed his wounde, and returned to the fyght, and after anger had slurred vp the egernes he had of nature, he renued the assault againe more fiersely then before. At length a great peace of the wall was ouerthrowen by a myne at the whiche he brake in, and put the whole cytie to

Menedemus

sacke and to ruyne. He sent from thẽce Menedemus with .iii. M. kootemen and .viii. C. horsemen to the citie of Maracanda, which Spitamenes had newly taken and put out from thẽce the guarrison of the Macedons. Yet the cytesens were not of his opinion, but when they sawe they could not let him it was of necessitie for them to agree to his will. Alexander in the meane season came to the riuer of Tanais, where he enclosed about with a wall so muche grounde as his Campe did conteine, extending in compasse .xx. furlonges, and named the same cytie Alexandria. This thing was done with suche expedicion that within .xvii. daies after the walles were vp, the houses also were builded. And the whole was perfourmed in a very smale season, through the contencion amonges the souldiers who should perfourme his worke first, when the same was deuided into partes amõges them. The prisoners that had taken, whose raunsomes Alexãder paid to their takers, were appointed to inhabite this cytie. Whose posteritie after so lõg time, be not yet worne out, such fauour hath bene shewed to thẽ in the memory of Alexãder. The king of Scythia whose Empire was thẽ beyond the ryuer of Tanais, iudging þ the fortifieg vpõ the ryuers side should be as a yoke to his neck, sent his brother Carcasis with a great power of horsemen to defeate the fortification, and to remoue away the Macedons from the waters syde. Which is the ryuer that deuideth the Bactriãs from the Scithiãs of Europe, and is the limite whiche parteth Asia and Europe a sonder. But the countreis that þ Scithes inhabite beginne not farre from Tracia, & lie betwixt the north & west, ioyning with Sarmacia, & possessing part of it. the countrey also that lieth beyõd the ryuer of Ister is inhabited by thẽ, & their vttermoste bordes stretche to

Alexander builded a newe cytie vpõ Tanais

Carcasis.

Ister.

Bactria,

Bactria, & to the further boũdes of Asia northwardes, wheras be wõderful great woods & wild desertes. But suche of thẽ as bounded nere vnto Tanais & Bactria lack not muche the ciuilitie of other nations. This being the first time that Alexander had to do with these people, when he sawe that then he had to entre into a warre, for the which he was not prouided, his enemies riding vp & downe in his sight, and he disealed of his wound, specially not hauing thuse of his speach, which failed much by reason of this longe abstinence, and the paine in his necke, called his frendes to counsell & declare vnto thẽ: that he was not troubled with any feare of his ennemies but with the iniquitye of the tyme, the Bactrians rebelling, & the Scithians prouoking him, when neyther he was able to stande vpon the ground, or strõg enough to ryde on horsbacke, or in case to geue aduise or exhortacion to hys men. In consideracion therefore of the doubtful daũger he sawe him self wrapt in, he accused the gods, complayning that he was then enforsed to lye styll as a stocke, whose swiftnes before tyme, none was hable to escape. The matters grue soo great that his owne men beleued he had counterfeited his sickenes for feare. And therefore he which since the ouerthrowe of Darius had lefte consultacion with the deuiners & prophetes turned himself againe to the vanitie & superstition of man, willinge Alexander (to whõ he was addicted in beliefe) that he shoulde trye out by Sacrifice what his successe shoulde be. The custome of them which were called Aruspices was to consider the intrayles of the beastes wythout the kynge, and to make report to him of there signification. In ỳ meane season whiles they were serching secretes that kind of way he willed Ephestiõ, Craterus, Erigius & other his frends to draw nere about him, lest by streyning of his

Alexanders wordes to hys frendes

Aduersitie maketh men religious.

Aruspices

Alexanders wordes.

he might breake out his woūd again, & said thus vnto them: The daunger I am in, hath caused the time to serue better for mine enemies, then for me, necessitie I see chiefly in the warres to go before reason. For it is seldome geuen to men, to choyse their owne tyme. The Bactrians be reuolted, vpō whose shoulders yet we stande, purposing to trie what courage we be of, by our behauour towardes the Scithians. If we leaue of with doubtful fortune, and meddle not with thē, which of their own myndes haue prouoked vs, we shal at our retourne be had in contempt of them whome we entend to visit. But if we shal passe the riuer of Tanais, and by the destruction of the Scythians & shedding of their bloud, shewe our selues inuincible euery where. Who will then doubt but that Europe will lye open & geue obedience to vs being victoriers? he is deceiued that doth measure by any distaunce the boundes of our glory that we entende to passe. There is but one riuer that letteth vs nowe for bringing of our power ouer into Europe, whiche if we shall bring to passe what an estimaciō shal it be for vs: whiles we be subduing of Asia, to set vp the monumentes of our victories as it were in a newe world, ioyning so sone together with one victory, the thing that nature seme to haue deuided with so great distalice: but if we shal stay neuer so little and geue ground, the Scythians will then come after vs, & pursue vs in ỹ taile. Be there no more but we ỹ haue passed riuers: there be many inuenciōs yet remaining amonges our selues, wherby we haue gotten victories. But fortune of the warre doth teache policy to suche as be ouercomme, we haue shewed a president of late, howe to swymme ouer ryuers vpon bottels. Whiche thyng if the Scythians can not doe, the Bactrians shall teache them. It is but the

power

power of one nacion, that nowe come against you. all the other yet stande in a stay to vnderstande of our doinges. So that by eschewing battail we shal not ryght warre, and be cõpelled to receyue those blowes, whiche it lieth in vs to geue to other. The reason of my aduise is manyfest. But whether the Macedons wyll suffre me to vse mine owne disposicion, I doubte, because that since I receiued this wound, I haue not ridden on horsebacke, nor gone on foote. If you will folowe me my frẽdes I am whole. I haue then strength enough to endure these thynges, if thende of my lyfe be at hande wherin can I spend it better. These wordes that he spake were vttered with a broken and weake voice, so that they could scarsely be hard of such as were nere hym. But when his meanyng was perceyued all that were present went about to fray hym from so rathe an enterprice. But Erigius wrought Erigius.
chefly in the matter, whiche perceiuing that his authoritie could not preuayle against the kynges obstinat mynde, attempted to worcke hym by religion, whiche was of greater force. For he declared to hym that the Goddes were against his determinacion, whiche had signified great perill to ensue, if he passed the ryuer. (He said) he had vnderstande that thyng by Aristaunder, who told hym at his comming into the pauilion what he had perceiued in the beastes intrailes. Alexãder vpon his wordes was wonderfully troubled both with anger and shame, when he sawe the secretes of the religion brought to light, which he thought to haue kept secrete to him self: and therfore caused Erigius to go aside, and Aristander to be called in vnto him. Whõ he beheld in the face, & said: I seme to the rather a priuate man then a king. Seing I commaunded the to

make sacrifice, and thou hast declared the significatiō therof to other & not to me. For Origius by thy report knoweth the priuities pertaining to me. But sure I iudge that through his own feare he deuised an interpretacion of himselfe. Therfore let me heare of thyne own mouth what ỹ hast found in the intrailes, to thintent thou shalt not deny that thou hast spoken. Aristāder therupō was amased, & loked pale not able to answere one word for feare. But at length the same feare that made him holde his peace, pricked him forwardes to speake, lest the prolonging of the kinges expectacion might prouoke him to further wrath, answered: I said (qō he) there was in the enterprise great daunger and difficultie, but yet ỹ your attēpt shuld not be in vaine. There is nothing that I haue perceiued by my science trouble me so much, as the loue I beare towardes you, for I both cōsider your infirmitie, & what a momēt cōsisteth in your owne persone, fearing you shuld not be able to endure the thinges, that fortune is disposed to geue vnto you. When Alexander hard him speake after that maner, he willed him to haue confidence in his felicitie to whom fortune had graunted glory in greater thinges, & therupō dismissed him. Afterwardes as the king was debating with suche as he cōsulted with before, by what meanes he shuld passe the riuer. Aristāder came amonges them, affirming that he had found the intrailes contrary to ỹ he did before, with as likely signes of good successe as any ỹ euer he sawe, shewing thē as great causes to reioyse, as he did before to feare. But immediatly hereupon he receiued newes ỹ muche appaired the continuall felicitie he was wont to haue, in all his procedinges. Menedemus being sent (as it hath bene said before) to besiege Spitamenes, the auc-

tour

tour of the Bactrians rebellion. When he vnderstode of his enemies cõming both in quoldig to be enclosed within walles, & trusting besides to take some aduãtage of the Macedõs laid an imbushemẽt to entrappe them. There was a wood through the which thei shuld passe very apt for ỹ purpose, where he laid the Dahãs, whose custome was to cary two armed men vpon one horse, from whence they vsed to leape down by course. And by reason the swiftnes of the footemen was little inferior vnto the horsemẽ they troubled greatly the order of the horsemans fight. Spitamenes gaue order to thẽ that whẽ their enemies shuld enter into the wood they should enuirone them about on all sides, whiche when they perfourmed according to their appointmẽt, Menedemus seing him self enclosed on al parts, & not equall in nombre vnto his enemies, refused a greate while, crieng out to the souldiers, that there remayned no hope to them being intrapt after that maner, but by making slaughter vpon their enemies, reteine the cõfort of an honest death. Menedemus rid vpon a strõg horse charging oft times vpon his enemies, whereby he brake their order, and made great slaughter, till such tyme that he being laid at on all partes, retenued many woundes, and fainted for want of blood. Then he exhorted Hilpides that was one of his frendes to leape vpon his horse, and escape away, and with that worde he swounded & fel to the ground from his horse. Hilpides might haue got away, but after he had lost his frẽd determined there to die, taking no other care but how to spend his life, with the losse of his enemies. Wherfore he put his spoores to the horse, and ranne in amonges them, where he fought notably, and at lengthe was slayne. When the reste sawe thys Hilpydes.

ouerthrowe, and losse of their capitaine, they recouered an hill, where Spitamenes did besiege them, thinking to subdue them for want of vitaill. There were slaine in that battaill two. M. footemen, and. iii. hundred horsemen. Whiche misaduẽture Alexander with great policy kept secret, commaunding them that parted from the field, vnder payne of death not publyshe this matter abrode. But when he could not beare out any lenger a countenaunce contrary to his harte, he went alone vnto his paulion whiche he had set of purpose vpõ the riuers side. There he waked all the night deuising with him selfe, what was best to doe. And diuers times he lifted vp his tent to behold the fires in his enemies campe, therby to coniecture their nombre, when the daye apeared he put on a corselet and came forth amonges the souldiers, beyng the first tyme they had sene him since he receiued his hurt. They bare suche a veneracion vnto their kyng that with his presence only, they put away the remembraunce of the feate whiche caused them before to shrinke, and reioyced so hartely, that when they saluted him, the teares distilled from their eyes, and earnestly required the fight, which before they had refused. He toke order there amonges them that the horsemẽ, and such as were of the square battaill of footemen should be caried ouer in boates, & that the light armed shuld swimme vpon bottels. Neither the matter required any more to be spoken, nor the king could not say any more by reason of his infirmitie. For the souldiers went about the matter with suche good will & cherefulnes of mind that within the daies they had finished. xii. M. boates. whẽ al thinges were prepared in redines for their passage there came xx. embassadours of ỹ Scithiãs ridig by ỹ cãpe, which

required

required that it might be declared vnto the kinge that they hadde matter in commission to declare vnto him. When they were receiued into his pauilion, and commaunded to sit downe, thei fixed their loke cõtinually vpon the kinges countenaunce, whereby it was thought, that waiynge the greatenes of his courage by his personage that they sawe presente, it appeared to theim but small in respecte of the same they hearde of him. The wittes of the Scythians be not rude and vnout knowledge as other barbarous people be. For it is said that many of thẽ atteine to such learnyng as is possible for a nation being alwayes in exercise of the warres. Whose wordes spoken vnto Alexãder be left in memorie, whiche thoughe thei differ from the maner of vs that haue happened in more ciuil times, and framed our selues to a more humanitie. Yet the fidelitie of the matter is not to be despised, thoughe the phrase of their speach be not alowed. And therfore I shall declare vncorruptlye the sayynges whiche the eldeste of those Embassadours did speake after this maner.

The oracion of the Scythians vnto Alexander.

If the Goddes had geuen the a bodye accordyng to the vnsaciable desire of thi mind, the world should not be able to receiue the, but shouldest touche the Orient with ỹ one hand, & the occidẽt ỹ the other, which once obteined, thy desire should be to knowe where to place thy Personage, haboundinge with suche excellencye. Thus thou doest couet the thing thou arte not able to cõpasse. From Europe thou goest into Asia, and frõ Asia passe into Europe. It muste come to passe that if thou ouercome all mankynde, thou muste kepe warre with woodes and snowes, with riuers & wilde beastes. Whi art thou ignorant that trees do growe till they be great, and thẽ be plucked vp from the rote in a mo-

mente

ment? He is a foole that doth couet the frute, and con-
sidereth not the height of the tree wheron it growith.
Take hed lest whiles thou doost labour to attaine vn-
to the toppe, thou fallest wyth the boous which thou
dost embrace. The Lion hath bene some tyme the
foode of smalle byrds, and the rust doth consume the
Iron. There is nothing so sure, that is not in daun-
ger of hys inferior. What haue we to do wyth the?
we neuer touched thy countrey. Is it not lawfull for
vs that liue in the wast woodes, to be ignorant what
thou arte, and from whence thou commest? we can nei-
ther be subiect to any man, nor desire to rule ouer any
creature. And because ye shal not be ignorant of the-
state of our nacion we haue certayne giftes in proper
vnto vs, the yoke of Oxen, the plough, the speare, the
bowe, and the bowle: which be the thyngs that we vse
both wyth our frendes and against our enemies. We
do giue vnto our frendes of the frutes gotten wyth
labour. With the bowle we sacrefice wyne vnto the
godes. Wyth our bowe we strike our enemies afarre
of, and with the speare nere at hand. After that sort we
in tymes past ouercame the king of Scythia, and af-
terwardes the king of Perce and Media making the
waye open to vs into Egipt. But thou which dost glo-
ryfie, that art come to be a persecuter of theues arte a
robber of all nacions, that thou comeste amonges.
Thou haste taken Lydia, possessed Siria enioyed
Perce, and haste the Bactrians vnder thy power.
Thou dost visite the Indies, and now stretchest furth
thy rauenowes hands vnto our cattel. Why dost thou
couet that riches that cause the to be poze. Thou art
the first of al men which with haboundance hast prepa-
red thy self honger and that with the moze thou haste

the

the more gredely thou doste couet ꝑ thinges thou haste not. Dost thou not remẽbre how lõge thou hast stiked about Bactria. And whiles thou goest about to subdue them, how the Sogdians begin to rebel. Thus warre doth growe vnto the of thy victorie. For be thou neuer so great, and of force aboue any other yet ther be none that can endure to be gouerned by straungers. Passe nowe Tanais, thou shalt perceyue what bredth it beareth, and yet thou shalt neuer ouertake the Scithiãs whose pouertie is swyfter then thy army, which carting ꝑ spoile of so many naciõs can attaine to. For whẽ thou shalt thinke vs to be farre of, thou shalt see vs within thy Campe. with like swiftnes. we folowe, and flie away. I heare that our desertes beset borned by the Greake prouerbes, we couet rather the desertes and places vnhabited, then cities ond plentiful countres. Therefore hold thou thy fortune fast for she is slipper and cannot be kept agaynst hir wyll. Folowe thou the counsell ꝑ is good, and spedally whiles the tyme doth serue. Put a bridle to thy felicitye, and thou shalt gouerne it the better. We saye that fortune is without feete, & that she hath only hands & winges & whẽ she putteth furth her hand, she wil not suffre hir winges to be touched. If thou be a god then geue benefites vnto mortal men, and take not away the commodities they haue alredy. If thou be a man consider alwaye thine owne estate. It is folishe to remembre those thynges, which cause the to forget thy selfe. Suche as by warre: thou makest thy enemies, by peace thou maist make them thy veray frendes. The most firme frẽdship is amõgest them that be equal, and they seme equall which haue not yet made any trial of ther force

Take

Take hede thou take them not for thy frendes, whom thou doest subdue and bring to subiectiō. There is no frendshyp betwene the Lorde & the slaue, and in peace the lawe of Armes is obserued. Thinke not that the Scythians do confirme their frendeshippe with anye othe. For thei thinke thei sweare in keppynge of their faieth. The custome of the Grekes is to iustifye their doynges by calling their Goddes to witnesse. But we acknowlcdge Religion to consiste in the faieth it selfe. Thei which do not their due reuerēce to men, deceiue the Gods. Thinke not those frendes to be necessary vnto the, of whose good will thou shalt nede to doubt. Thou maist vse vs as kepers bothe of Europe and Asia. For we shoulde ioyne with Bactria, but that Tanais dothe deuide vs. and beyonde Tanais out dominion stretche so farre as Tracia, and the same is that Tracia cōtineth to Macedon. Consider therfore whether it be necessarye for the or no, to haue vs as frēdes or foes to bothe thine empires. These were the Scythians wordes, to whom the king made aunswere: that he woulde bothe vse his owne fortune and their counsaile whiche aduised him well. He woulde folowe his fortune because he had great cōfidence in it, and other mens counsaile, because he would do nothinge rashelye nor vpon a sodaine. Thervpon he dismissed the Embassadours and enbarked his armie in the boates he hadde prepared. In the fore partes of the boates he set suche as had targettes, willyng theim to knele vpō their knees for their more safegarde againste the shote of arrowes. And they were placed behinde theim that hadde the charge of the Engines, who before, and on bothe sides were enclosed with armed men. The rest whiche stode beyonde the engines beyng armed them selues,

Alexander passed the riuer of Thanais against the Scithians.

ſelues, defended with targattes ſuche as rowed the ſame ordre was alſo obſerued in thoſe boates that caried ouer the horſme. The more part drue their horſes after thē by the reynes ſwimming at the boates tailes, and ſuch as were caried vpō truſſes filled with ſtraw, were defended by the boates that rowed betwixt them and their enemies. Alexander with ſuche men as he had choſen to be about his perſone, firſt launched from the land, and directed his courſe towardes the further ſide. The Scythians came againſte them with their horſemen in ordre of battaill, ſtanding vpon the brinck of the further ſhore to let their landing: whoſe ſhewe being a terrour to the Macedōs, they had alſo an other cauſe of feare in their paſſing ouer, for the boatemaiſters were not able to keape their courſe againſte the force of the ſtreame. And the ſouldiers ſwaying to and fro, for the doubte they had to fal in the water, troubled the mariners in doing of their office. By reaſon wher of the Macedons could not haue ſcoope to caſte their dartes with any force, taking more care howe to place them ſelues out of perill, then for to auoyde their enemies. Their engyns ſtode them in great ſteade, which ſeldome did ſhote in vaine againſt their enemies that ſtoode thicke before them, proffering to reſiſte their lāding. When the Scythians ſawe them nere the ſhore, they did ſhote an infinite nombre of arrowes into the boates, ſo that there was not in maner any target that had not many heades ſticking in it. At length the boates arriued at the land, then the target men did ryſe vpon their feete, and hauing more ſcope and ſure footing, threw their dartes more certainly & with greater force: wherby when they perceiued their enemies to ſhrinke, and reane backe their horſes, they then leaped

therefully

cherefully vnto the land. one exhorting and encouraging an other, and freely pursued the Scythians whē they sawe falle out of aray. By that tyme Alexanders horsemen which had assembled them selues in troopes, brake vpon their ennemies, and put them to great dysorde. In the meane season the rest being defended by them that were fighting landed and prepared them selues to the battell. Nor Alexander letted not wyth stowtnes of courage to supplye the impotency of hys bodye. Hys voyce could not be hard when he spake & exhorted his men (the scarre of his wound not yet closed) but all men might se him fighting. Wherefore euery one vsed the office of a captaine in giuing exhortacion vnto hys fellowes, and ran vpon their ennemies wythout respect of their owne liues. Then the Scythians could not endure any lenger the countenance, the force, nor the crye of ther enemies, but being all on horsback fled away vpon the spoores. Whom the king pursued. iiii. score furlonges, notwithstāding that with great payne he endured hys infirmitye. When his hart fainted he cōmaunded hys men that they should folowe still in the chace so long as the day lasted, and not hauing strength to sustaine any further trauaile returned into hys camp to rest hym selfe. The Macedons in their pursute passed the boundes of Bacchus. In mounment of whom their were great stones set vp by equal distaunce, and highe trees whose stocks were couered ouer with Ywye. But no boūdes could be a stay to the Macedōs being caried forwards in there fury for it was midde night before they returned againe to their campe who hauing killed many, and taken great nombre of prisoners, dyd driue before them. M. viii. c. horses Ther were slayne of the Macedons .lx. horsemen, of the fotemen to the poynt of

one

one hundred, & a thousand of them were hurte. This enterprise & the fame of the victory falling in so good a seaso, kept the more part of Asia in obedience, which was of the point to haue rebelled. For they beleued that the Scythians were inuincible. Who being vanquesshed they iudged no nacio hable to withstand ỹ powre of the Macedons. The Sacans therefore after thys victory, sent their Embassadours vnto Alexander offring them selues to come vnder his obedience. To ỹ doing whereof they were not so greatly moued with feare of his force, as they were & report of ỹ clemency he vsed towardes ỹ Scythans after he had discōfited them. For he deliuered home all their prisoners wout raunsome to witnes to the world that he made warre with those fierce nacions, to shew his powre, & his vertue, & not for any malice, nor to shewe his wrath vpon them. That was the cause that he so gētly receiued the Embassadours of ỹ Sacās causing Exeptinus to accompany them, who being a beutiful yong man in the first flowre of his youth, was in that respect in great fauour, and familiarity with Alexander. In parsonage he was like to Ephestion, but inferior to him in pleasantnes of speach. After this Alexander giuing ordre to Craterus to folowe him by small iorneys, with the greater parte of hys armie, he him selfe came to the city of Maracādā from whence Spitamenes that hard of his cōmyng, was fled into Bactria. The king therfore making great tout neyes foure dayes continually, came into the place, where as vnder the conduct of Hegedemus he had lost two. M. fotemen & .iii. C. horsemē. Whose bōes he caused to be gathered togithers & buried, celebrating their funeralls after his contrey maner. By ỹ time Craterus & the phalaux was come vnto ỹ king, & to thintēt he might pūisshe & the sword

Sacans.

Exeptinus.

al suche as had rebelled, he deuided his powre into diuerse partes cõmãding them to burne in euery place where they went and to kyl al the children. The contrey of the Sogdiãs is for the more parte wast, by reason of the great desertes that be there, wherof some be iiii. score. furlonges in bredth. The riuer called Polytimetum passeth in maner throught the length of the countrey, which ronneth violently in a narowe chanel, and then is receyued into an hole of the earth from whence it goeth vnderneth the ground whose course is manifest by the noise of the water that may be hard. And yet in all grounde vnder the which suche a riuer doth ronne, ther do not apeare any moisture put forth. Of the captiues that were taken amõgs the Sogdians, there were .xxx. of the most noblest brought vnto Alexander. Which vnderstanding by an interpreter, that by the kinges commaundement they shoulde be put to execution. They beganne as men in myrth to sing and daunce, and by a certaine lasiuious motion of their bodies expressed a great ioyfulnes of the mind. Alexander meruelyng that they toke their death wyth such stowtnes and magnanimitye of harte, called them vnto him, enquiring why they shewed so great a gladnes, when they had death before their face. They answerrd that if they had bene put to death by any, saving by such one as he was, that they should haue take their death sorofully. But now seing they should be restored to their predecessors by a kyng that was a conqueror of all nacions, they reioyced in their honest death, as the thing that all men should wyshe & desyre. The king then meruayling at there magnanymitye: I enquere of you (quod he) if you can be content to liue & become frendes to him, by whose benifite you shalre-

ceiue

eeue your life. They ſaid that as they neuer were his enemies, but as they were prouoked by occaſion to the warres, euen ſo if he would make an experiment of them rather by a benefite then an iniury. They would labour not to be ouercome in good will, nor in doyng the thing that pertained to their dutie. They were aſked what pledge they would laye of their promyſe. They ſaid their liues they had reteined, ſhuld be their pledge redy to be yelded againe, when it were required, wherin they brake no promiſe, for ſuche of them as were returned home into their countrey kept the people in good obedience, & foure of them that were appointed to be of the kinges guard, gaue place to none of the Macedons in loue or affection towardes their prince. When he had ordred all thinges amonges the Sogdians, he left Peucolaus there with .iii. M. men of warre, and remoued into Bactria. From whence he cõmaunded Beſſus to be caried to Echatan, there to ſuffre death for the killing of Darius. About theſame time Ptolomeus and Menidas brought .iii. M. footemen and a thouſand horſemen of mercenary ſouldiers, and one Alexander came to him out of Licia with .iii. M. footemen and .v. C. horſemen. Aſclepiodorus had leuied the like nombre out of Syria, and Antipater ſent .viii. M. Grekes emonges whome there were .v. C. horſemen. When he had thus encreaſed his armye with the ſupply of his newe power, he went about in euery place to quiet thoſe ſturres that bene raiſed vp by the rebellion. And hauing ſlayne them that were the authours and beginners therof, the fourth day came to the ryuer of Orus, which being a water vnholſom to be droke, becauſe it is euer troubled & full of mudde. The Macedons fell to digging of welles, & whē by digging deape

Peucolaus.

they could fynd no water, there was a spring sodeinly found vnder the kinges tent, which because it was not found at the first, they fained that it came by miracle. Wherewith the king was pleased, and content, men shuld beleue that the same was sent by the gift of god.

Margina. When he passed the ryuer of Ochus and Oxus, they came vnto a cytie called Margina, nere vnto ỹ which he chose out places for the buildyng of syx townes: whereof he planted two towardes the south, and foure towardes the east. Euery one distãt a smalle space frõ an other, to thintent, that their mutuall assistaunce in tyme of neede should not be farre to seke. They were all scituate vpon high hilles, as bridels to keape vnder those wild nacions. But now they haue forgottẽ their originall, & be subiect to those they were wont to rule.

A rock kept against Alexander by Arimazes. The king hauing subdued all the rest, one rock only remained whiche Arimazes a Sogdian had taken with xxx. M. armed men, & furnished the same of vitels for two yeres. The same rock was, xxx. furlõges in height & .Cl. about, being in all partes steape & broken, hauing one streight path only to passe vp vnto it. In the midde way to the toppe it had a caue which was narowe and darck in the entrey, but by littell and litell it waxed wyder, and had large lodginges within for a great multitude, and was besides so ful of springes, that whẽ they met together they ranne downe the rock like a greate ryuer. Alexander beholding the strẽgth of this place, & the difficultie to wynne it: Determined to depart frõ thence. But there entred sodẽly into his hart a desire to wery nature and worcke against her power. Yet before that he would attempt the fortune of any siege, he

Cophes. sent Cophes the sonne of Artabasus, to persuade them to geue it ouer. Arimazes vpon trust of the strength of

the

the place aunswered in all thinges arrogauntly, but specially in that he axed whether Alexander could flie. Whiche wordes reported to the kyng, did put in suche an heate, that streightwayes he called for suche as he vsed to consult with all, declaryng the pride and presumption of Arymazes, and after what maner he had skorned him. But shortly he said he would deuise such waye, that he would make hym thynke the Macedons had wynges. He required them therfore that out of the whole armye, they woulde chyse out and bryng to hym thre hundred of the moste lightest young men, whiche had bene accustomed to driue beastes amonges the rockes and streight pathes of the mountaynes. Whereupon they brought suche to the kyng, as bothe for lyghtnes of body, and hardines of harte were moste mete for suche a purpose. Vnto whome he sayd: my fellowes that be of myne owne age, with you I haue wonne Cyties that were counted inexpugnable, and haue passed the toppes of mountaynes, couered continually with snowe. With you I haue gone through the streyghtes of Cylicia, and haue without werynes sustayned the violence of the colde, whereby I haue experience of you, and you of me. The rocke whiche you see haue but one entrey, whiche our enemies do obserue, the rest they neglect. They keape no watche but towardes our campe. If you diligently serche, you shall fynde some waye to bryng you to the toppe. Nature hath made nothing so hyghe, but that it may be attayned to by the industry of man. In puttyng thynges in proufe, wherof other haue dispayred, we haue gotten Asia into our possession.

The exhortacion that Alexander made to the whome he had appointed to clime the rocke.

Deuise you the meanes to get vp into the top, which when you haue take, you shal geue a toke to me by settyng vp of some white cloth, you shall se me then come

forwardes with my power, and turne the enemies fro you towardes me. He shall haue ten talentes for a reward that doth recouer the toppe first, & he that getteth vp next, shall haue one lesse, & the like order shalbe obserued with ten of the first. I am assured that you regarde not so much my liberalitie as my fauour. When they had heard the king speake after that maner, they imagined the thing won, and departing out of his presence, prepared strong ropes and yron hokes, whiche they might aslen to the rockes, and so clyme vp. The king brought them about the rock, where as it semed lest stepe and moste plaine to mounte vpon, and in the second watche rolled them to passe forwardes with good speade. They being furnished with two dayes victell, and arme only with swordes and speares, at the first wēt forwardes without any great difficulty. But when they came to the steapnes of the rock, some toke hold of the broken cragges to lift vp thēselues, & some fastening their hokes on ỹ rockes, clame vp by the ropes. They were compelled to rest & stay diuers tymes, and so consumed the day in trauaill & in feare. When they had passed many difficult places, further difficulties alwayes appeared, the height of the rock seming to to growe more & more. When they failed either of their hold or of their footing, it was a miserable thing to see howe they fell downe hedlong, shewing to the other by their misfortune, an ensāple what was likely to becōe of thē. Notwithstāding at length through al these difficulties thei got vp into the top, where thei al wer[illegible] ỹ the trauail of their cōtinual labour, & some with ỹ hurtes & maines they had receiued, slept there all ỹ night, amonges the wilde and rough rockes, vnmyndfull of the perill they were in. Whē it was day they wakened

and

out of their deape sleape, and beholding the valeis vnderneath them, were ignorant in what parte of the rocke so great a multitude of their enemies should lye, but at length they perceiued by the smoke in what place they were. Then vpon the pointes of two speares they set vp the signe that was appointed them, and founde that in their coming vp, they had lost of their nombre two and thirty. The kyng being carefull not so muche for the desire he had to winne the rocke, as for to saue those whom he had sent to so manifest a daūger, stode all daye beholding the toppe of the mountayne. And when darckenes of the night toke away the prospecte of the eyes, he departed to refreshe his body. The next day before it was full light, he perceiued the white cloth set vp in the toppe of the rocke, but the varietie of the ayer, and the sonne beginning to apeare and yet hidde, caused him to doubte a while whether his sighte had fayled him or no. But when it was full and open daye, it appeared manifestly, and all doubte was take away. Then he called Cophes, by whome he had attempted their myndes before, willing him ones agayne to exhorte them to be better aduised. And if so be that in trust of their strength they would not submit them selues, that then he should shewe to thē the men that had taken the rocke ouer their heades. Whē Cophes came thether, he beganne to persuade Arimazes to geue vp his strength, therby to winne the kinges fauour, and not enforce him to stay in the siege of a rock, hauing so many weighty affaires in hād: But he fond him more obstinat and proude then he did before, and willed Cophes to depart and moue him no more in the matter. Then he toke Arimazes by the hād, and required him to go with him out of the caue. When they were come

where as they might loke about, he shewed him those that were gotten to the top of the cragge, and skorning the his pride: axed of him whether Alexãders souldiers had gottẽ winges or no: but ỹ time the trõpettes were blowen in the Macedons campe, & thei might here the alarome that was made in the armye. Whiche matter as many and vaine and trifling thinges are wont in the warres to growe to greate effect, so that was the cause why they yelded them selues. For feare so troubled them, that they could not consider the smalle nombre that were ouer their heades, but called Cophen againe in great hast, who was departed away, and sent with him Alexander. xxx. of the chief men, authorised to yelde vp the rocke with composition for to depart in sauegard. But Alexander not withstanding that he doubted, lest his enemies discouering the fewnes of his men, might put them to distresse: yet trusting in the felicitie of his owne fortune, and offended with the pride of Arimazes, would agre to no cõdicion, but that they should yelde simply. Arimazes therupon dispayring more of his estate, then he had cause. Descended downe to the campe with the chiefest of the nacion, that were of kinne to him. All the whiche Alexander caused to be scourged with roddes, and be crucifyed at the foote of the rocke. The multitude that yelded with the money that there was taken, were geuen in gifte to thinhabiters of the newe cities. And the rule of the sayd rocke was committed to Artabalus, with the charge of the countrey there about.

(.*.)

The eigth boke of

Quintus Curtius of the actes of the great Alexander kyng of Macedon.

(.°.)

ALexander hauing wonne this rock, with greater fame then glory, because his enemies remained in no place certaine, it was necessary for him to seperate his power, & so deuided his army in three partes. He gaue the charge of the one part to Ephestion, to Cenon the other, & toke the third part vnto him self. His enemies were not all of one opinion, for some of them seing their defence could not auaill, yelded them selues before the fight, to whome he gaue the cyties and the landes of those that continued still his enemies. But the outlawes of Bactria with. viii. C. horsemen wasted the villages of the Messagetes. For the reuenge wherof, Attynas gouernour of that countrey, went against them with. iii. C. horsemen, not knowing that his enemies lay in wayte for him, whiche had layd their imbushement in a wood ioyning to a great playne, whereas they had appointed a certain to driue cattel, therby to drawe their enemies with the gredines of the praye, within daunger of the bushemen. When Attinas men sawe the driuers of the cattell, they pursued them without order, and whē they were passed the wood where thimbushement lay, their enemies brake out vpon them casting no suche perils, and slewe them euery one. The fame of this ouerthrowe, came immediatly vnto Craterus, whiche drue thether with the horsemē. But the Massagetes being fled before his comming, he slewe. M. of the Dahans that toke their parte, wherby the whole rebellion of the

Messagetes Attynas.

Dahans.

whole countrey ceſſed. Thus Alexander hauing ſubdued the Sogdians, returned to Maracanda. Whether (Berdes whom he had ſent to the Scythians inhabiting about Boſphorus) came to him with Embaſ-
Phrataphernes. ſadours of that coũtrey. Phrataphernes alſo that had the chiefe rule of the Maſagetes and Dahans (whiche nacions were ioyned by affinitie togethers) ſent certaine meſſengers to Alexander offring to be at his cõmaundemẽt. The Scythian Embaſſadours made requeſt that Alexander would mary their kinges doughter, & if the affinitie pleaſed him, that he would ſuffre the princes of the Macedons to enter in mariage likewiſe, with the noble mens doughters of their coũtrey: promiſing that the king ſhould come in perſon to viſite him. He hard gently both the Embaſſades, and ſtyll continued in that place, till Epheſtion and Artabaſus came vnto him, and then ioyning his power againe to
Baſaria. gether, came into the countrey that is called Baſaria. There is nothing more eſtemed in that nacion then to haue great herdes of wild beaſtes encloſed in parkes, whiche be very pleſaunt, and full of ſprynges. Thoſe parkes be encloſed with walles, and towers builded within them to be lodges for the hunters. There was one parke in that countrey that had remained vnhunted, during the tyme of foure mens ages. Wherinto Alexander entred with his whole army, chaſing the wilde beaſtes in euery quarter. Amõges the reſt there
Lyſimachus. was a liõ of a rare bignes that came rõning towardes Alexander. Whiche thing when Lyſimachus (that afterwardes was king, perceiued ſtanding by chaunce then next to Alexãder) perceiued, he ſtepped before him, to receiue the lyon with his hũting ſpeare. But Alexãder plucked him back, and willed him to auoyde, ſayeg-

that

that he was able to kyll a lyon so well as Lysimachus. This Lysimachus on a time hūting in Syria killed by himself alone an huge lyon. But he was borne to ꝯ bones vnder his left shoulder, & put in great daunger of his life. Which being ꝯ matter that Alexāder ment, he performed vñ that worde, no lesse then he promised for he did not only receiue ꝯ lyon, but killed hym with one stroke. Wherupon the fable rise howe Alexander shuld haue cast Lysimachus to a lyon. But though Alexanders chaunce was good herein, yet the Macedōs knewe that by the custome of his countrey, he shoulde not haue hunted on foote without the chiefest of his nobilitie and frendes about him. He killed within that packe .iiii. M. wilde beastes, and there did banket his army, returning after wardes to Maracanda. Artabalus perceiuing himself there by his age, that he was vnapt for the rule of that countrey, Alexāder committed the same to Clitus, whiche was he that defended him with his target when he was fighting bareheaded at the ryuer of Granick, & there cut of with his sworde Rosacetis hand, that was in a redines to stryke the kyng. He was an old souldier of Philippes his father, & notable in many feates of warre that he had done. Hellanice his suster was Alexanders nurse, whome he loued no lesse then his owne mother. For these causes he committed the strongest part of his Empire to his fidelitie. The kyng that purposed to set forward in his tourney the next day, made that night a solempne banket, wherin (being ouergreat an aduaunter of him self) when he was chafed with drinking, began to set furth the actes that he had done, in suche sort that his wordes offended the eares of suche as knewe them to be trewe. The auncient men kept silence till such time

Clytus.

Hellanice.

Alexander offended his frēdes with ouermuche aduaunting of himself.

as he began to deface the doynges of Philippe his father, aduauntynge the notable victorye at Cheronese to be his dede. The glorye wherof (he saide) was taken from him by the malice and envy of his father. For he alledged howe in the mutine whiche rose betwene the Macedons and the Greke souldiours, when Philippe lay hurt of a wounde whiche he receiued at that fraye, thought him selfe sure no otherwise then to counterfaite to be dead: when he defended his body wyth his buckeler, & slewe them with his owne hand that ranne vpon Philip to haue killed him. Which act (he saied) his father would neuer gladly cõfesse, nor neuer could abide to acknowlege his safegard to come by his sõne. He also declared how after the iourney he made by him selfe into Illiria, in writyng vnto his father he ascribed the victorye vnto him selfe, whiche ouerthrew his enemies & put them to flight, when Philip was awaye. He said that in his opinio it deserued but small cõmendation to make a iourney into Samothracia, when Asia ought to haue bene spoyled & brente. Nor he thought no man worthy praise in dede but suche as do so great actes, that thei excede all mens credite. The yong men that were present were glad to heare these wordes and such other like, but thei were vngrateful vnto the auncientes specially for Philips cause, vnder whõ they had long serued. Then Clitus which in like case was not very sober, turned to such as sate beneth him, rehearsinge verses of Euripides, wherof the kyng myght rather heare the sounde then the wordes. The effect of thẽ was, that the Grekes did euil, which in the monumẽtes of their victories, did subscribe only the names of their kyng, which vsurped ỹ glory to thẽ selfes ỹ other men

men did wynne by sheding of their bloud. Alexander therefore which iudged his wordes to bene worse then they were, enquered of such as sat next him what Clitus said. But whē they keapt silence: Clitus wt a lowder voyce rehersed philips doinges, & warres he made in Greace one after an other, prefarring them before any actes done since that time. Wherupon ther did rise a contencion betwene the yong men and the old. But the king enforcing a pacience in him self, when he hard Clitus deface his prayse, cōceaued a wōderfull wrath in his mind. Yet it semed ỳ he wold haue bridled his affection, if Clitus wold haue made ane and of his presumptuous talk. But whē he would not ceasse, he gaue occasion to Alexander to be further moued. Then Clitus did procede so farefoorth, that he durst defend Parmenio ealse and prefarred the victory that Philip wāne of the Athenyens, before the distruccion of Thebes, & going further & further, not only through drunkenship but euen of a forwardnes of a contencious minde, at length said: If we must dye through the, Clitus is the first. For they receyue greatest rewards of thy victory that can most shamefully deface thy fathers memory. The coūtrey of Sogdiā is giuen vnto me, that hath so often rebelled, and now not onely vnsubdued, but such one as by no meanes can be brought to subiectiō I am placed amōgs those wild beastes, that be of such an vnciuil disposicion. But I could passe ouer things parteyning to my self: if the souldiers of Philip were not dispised, forgetting ỳ if ỳ old Athanas had not turned againe ỳ yong men, that gaue ouer ỳ fight, we had yet slyked about Alycarnasus. How is it then that Asia is cōquered wt thes yong mē? But I se it is true ỳ Clitus wordes.

your

your vncle sayd in Italy he chaunsed vpon men & yon vpō women. There was nothing that Clitus speake or did in his ralynes, ꝑ moued more ꝑ king, then ꝑ honorable mencion made of Parmenio yet for al ꝑ he kept in his greif & was cōtented to cōmaund hym only to depart out of ꝑ feste, speake enyeuil wordes against Clitus, hauing that he sayd: if he should talke a little lenger he would brayde me with the sauing of his life: wherof in very dede he wold oftentymes proudly aduaūce him selfe. But notwithstandinge that the king had willed hym to departe, yet he taried stil and would not rise. And therefore such as sat next him toke him by the armes to leade him away blaming and giuing him exhortacion, for his better vsage. When Clitus sawe him selfe drawn forth against his wyll. Ire was added to his dronknes, and declared then alowde: howe that he with his breste defended the kinges backe, but now when the good turne was past, the very memory of his benefit was hated. And therwyth layd to his charge the death of Attalus, and fynally mocked the Oracle of Jupiter whom Alexander claymed to be his father and sayd, that he told him better truth, then his father did. At those wordes the king was sturred to suche wrath, as he could scarsly haue borne being sobre. But hauing then his sences ouercome wyth drink leped sodenly from the table. His frendes were amased wyth throwing down the cups for hast, risse to wayt the end of the thing, they sawe hym go about in such a fury. He toke a speare out of a squires hand and would haue striken Clitus that was yet raging with thintemperaunce of his young. But he was stopped by Ptolomeus and Perdicas who tooke him in theyr armes & stayed him for all hys striuing. And Lysimachus and

Leonatus

Leonatus toke awaye the speare. Then he called to hys souldiers for ayde, cryyng out that he was taken by his next frēdes as Darius was of late, & willed the trumpet to be blowen, that ỹ armed men might assemble vnto the court. Then Perdicas and Ptolomeus fell downe vpon their knees, requiring him that he would not persever in his wrath, whiche he so sodaynely had conceyned, but rather respite his displeasure, seynge that he might the next day much more better order the matter But his wrath preuayled so much, that his eares were shutte vp, and he ranne in a fury amonges the watchmen, pluckyng a speare from one of them, which once gotten, he stode in the entrye, throughe the whiche they that supped with him must nedes passe. When all the the rest were come forth, Clitus came last without light And because Alexander could not discerne him, he asked what he was, but that was done so terribly, that the cruelty of the acte he went about apeared in his voice. But Clitus whiche seyng the king in a fury, had no respect howe much he had offended him before, aunswered that he was Clitus, whiche was commynge from the kinges banquet. With ỹ worde he strake him throughe the body so that he fel downe starke dead, & was al besprinckeled wt his bloud. Go now (quod he) to Philip, Parmenio, & Attalus. Herein it may be sene that nature prouided euill in the disposition of man, which for the more part can not consider so well thinges to come as those that be past. For after that Alexanders ire was asswaged, and his dronkennes past, weying aduisedlye the foulenes of the acte he had done: considered then that thoughe Clitus hadde vsed ouermuch libertie in his talke, that yet he ought not to haue slayne so noble a manne of warre: yea, and the sauer of his owne life,

though

though he were ashamed to confesse it. He sawe that he beyng a kyng hadde vsed the detestable office of an hangman, in reuengyng with wicked slaughter the libertye of wordes, whiche might haue bene imputed to wyne. When he beheld the bloude of hym whiche a litle before he had bydden to his banquet runne ouer all the entrey, and that the watchemen were so astonied and amased that they stode a farre of, and durste not come nere, his solitarines caused hys repentaunce to be the greater. Then he plucked the speare out of the dead corse, and would haue thruste it through his owne bodye, if the watchemen had not come runnynge, and with great striuynge wronge the same out of his handes. That done they toke hym vp and caried him into hys lodgynge. Wheras he fell downe flatte vpon the grounde, fillyng full all the courte wyth the miserable noyse of hys howlynge and lamentation. He tare hys face wyth his nayles, & required suche as stode about hym, that they woulde not suffer hym to lyue in suche a shame and dishonoure. In these requestes he consumed the whole nyght, and caused diligente searche to be made whether it were the ire of the Goddes or no, that had caused him to commit so haynous an acte. At length it was founde þ the yerelye sacrifice due vnto Bacchus was not done in due tyme. And therfore it appeared manifestlye that it shoulde be the wrathe of the Goddes, that hadde moued him to committe murther vpon eatynge and drynckyng. But the greateste thyng that encreased his sorowe, was the amasement of hys frendes, when he sawe thē shrinke from hym, & that none of them after that dede done, woulde gladly vse suche familiar communication as they dyd before.

Then

Then he perceyued that he should liue as a wild beast in a desart both fearing others, and also afrayed hym selfe. The next morning he commaunded the body blody as it was, to be brought into his chambre, which when he saw lyeng before him fell in weping and sayd Shal I after this sort requit my norse whose life cões slaine for my glory at Maracanda? I haue now killed her brother that was her only Joy at myne owne bourd: What refuge shal that wretched woman haue, I was al the cõfort that did remaine to her, and now she shal neuer be gladde to behold me. Shall I the wicked killer of my preseruers returne into my coũtrey, whẽ I shal not be able to presente my hand vnto my nurse wythout the remembraunce of her misery: When he could put no end to these kind of bewailinges & complayntes, ỳ body was taken awaye by the apoyntmẽt of his frẽdes. After he had laien three daies shut vp in his chambre, sorowing after this manner, the squiers & such as had the keaping of his persone seing him geuen obstinatly to death, brake all into his lodging, and with great payne brought hym (though he long withstode their prayers) at lenght to take some relefe and sustenaunce And to the intent he should be the lesse ashamed of Clitus death the Macedones decreed that he was lawfully killed and would not suffre him to be buried, but that the king commaunded it. Hauinge consumed ten dayes at Maracanda specially to confyrme the shame he had cõceyued of Clitus death, sent Ephestion vñ parte of his army into bactria to prouide vitells againste wynter. And commytted the same prouience vnto Amintas which before he had giuen to Clytus.

Alexanders lamentacyõ for the death of Clitus.

From

Zenippa. From thence he went into a countrey called Zenippa that confyneth with the Scythians: which being well inhabited and full of villages, doth with the plentyfulnes thereof not only detayne the inhabiters to dwell their still but also inuite straungers to come amonges them. The same was a refuge to the outlawes of Bactria that styll rebelled, but after Alexanders comming was knowne they were dryuen furth by the countreye men and two. M. and two hondred of them assembled to gither which were horsemen accustumed to lyue by theft and spoyle in tyme of peace. And then not onely the warre but also dyspayre of forgeuenes, had made ther cruel and wild dispositions worse. They gaue an Amyntas. onset sodeynly vpon Amyntas, that was Darius lieutenant. The battel was long doubtful betwixt them. But fynally they lost .vii. C. of there nombre whereof iii. c. were taken presoners, and turned ther backes to the victoryers not without a reueng for they slewe of them .iiii. score besides .iii. C. L. that they wounded. And yet notwithstanding after this second rebellion they obteyned pardon. When Alexander had brought them to obedience, he came with his hole Army into a Naura. coūtrey called Naura the lord wherof was called Sysymithers, who had gotten two sonnes by hys owne Sysymy- thres. mother, it being lawfull there for the parentes to vse ther children. The same Sysimythes with two thousande armed men forteyed and kepte the streight at the entreye of the countreye where as it was moste narawe. The passage was defended bothe with a riuer and wt a rock, through ꝑ which rock the way was made by force of hand. The light is receyued in at the entrey but further inward ther is non, but such as me bryng wyth them. Frō thys rock there goeth a vawte

vnder

From this rocke there goeth a haute vndermeth the grounde that hath issues into the playnes, whyche be not knowen but to suche as be of the same countrey. Though this straight was naturally strong, and defended besides by a strong power, that letted not Alexander to attempt it, but brought engynes which they call Arietes, to beate downe such fortificatiō as was made with hande, and with slinges and shote of arrowes did beate his enemyes from the places of their defence. When he had driuen them awaye, he passed throughe the fortificatiōs he had wonne, and made approche vnto the rocke. But the streame that grewe of the assemble of waters falling from the mountayne was an impedimente to him therin. And it semed a wonderfull worke to fil the chanel of the riuer, yet he caused trees and stones to be brought to the place, and set the thing in hande. When his enemyes that neuer had sene any suche worke before, sawe the worke rise sodaynlye lyke a mountayne, were put in a maruelous feare, whereby the kynge supposyng they might haue bene brought to render it vp: sent one Oxatres of the same nation to perswade Sisymythres to render vp the rocke. And in the meane season to put them in the more terrour, he caused towers of woode to be brought forwardes, and did shote wyth engynes so oute of the same, that the enemies forsakynge all other strengthes, retired into the toppe of the rocke. Oxatres finding Sisymythres in this feare, perswaded hym rather to proue Alexanders beneuolence then his force, seynge that all creatures submitted theim selues vnto him, & that he onely should not be his let, goynge with his victorious army into India, wherby he should turne other mens plage vpon his owne necke. Sisymythres would haue

bene contented to folowe his aduise, but that she whiche was both his mother and his wyfe affyrmed howe she woulde rather dye then commit hir selfe into anye mans handes. And therfore beynge ashamed that the loue of libertye shoulde remayne more in a womanne then in him, altered his purpose, takinge that way whiche was more honest then sure, and dismissed him that was the meane for peace, determinyng vtterly to abide the extremitye of the siege. Yet when he had weyghed well his enemies power and hys owne togethers, began againe to repent him of his wiues counsail, which was more rashe then necessarie, & made sute that Oratres woulde returne, proferinge then to commit hymselfe to the kinges will, onely requirynge of Oratres that he would not vtter hys wyues mynde and opinion, for feare least she should not obteyne hir pardon.

He sente therfore Oratres before, and he came after wyth his wyfe his children, & all his kynsfolke wythout tarynge for any assuraunce promised to hym by Oratres. Alexander hearynge of their commyng, sent hys horsemen before to cause theim to staye and tarye for hys cõmyng. And when he was come to the place whet they were, he offered Sacrifice to Minerua and Victoria, restorynge to Sylymythes his former rule and auctoritie, and put him in hope of a greater countrey, if he would faythfully cõtinue his frendshyp, and toke his two sonnes presented to him by the father to serue in his warres. Alexander lefte his fotemenne to subdue suche as were yet vnyelden, and wente forwardes with hys horsemen into other partes. The way was craggye and difficulte, whyche at the firste they endured indifferentlye, but afterwardes when their horse houes were torne asunder, and they vtterly forweried, many

manye were not able to folowe, but rode disperbled, and out of order, the worines of their trauaile so much ouercame shame. The kyng notwithstandyng chaunged often horse, and pursued wythoute ceassyng his enemies that fledde before hym. By reason whereof all the noble young men that were wonte to accompanye him were lefte behynde, sauynge onelye Philippe Philip
Lysimachus brother, who then beynge in the flowre of his youthe, and of great likelihode to become an excellent marine, folowed on fote the kynge that did ride on horsebacke by the space of fifty furlonges. Lysimachus diuers times proffring to hym his horse. But in no wise he would depart from the kyng, notwithstandyng that he had on his corselet and all his armoure. Whiles the kinge passed throughe a woode where his enemies laye in embushement, he fought notablye, and rescued the kynge fightynge wyth hys enemyes. But after they were putte to flyght and driuen out of the woodes, the greatnes of his courage which hadde sustayned him in the heate of the fight, fainted wyth his bodye, and beynge all on a swette, leaned him selfe to a tree, whyche did not so slaye him, but that he fel to the earth, and beynge taken vp againe by the kinges handes, shronke downe from hym and dyed. The kynge beyng sorowfull for his deathe, receiued an other tidynges, no lesse to be lamented. For before he came to his campe, he was aduertised of the deathe of Erigius, one of hys moste notable Capitaynes, whose funerals were bothe celebrated wyth greate pompe and ceremonies of honoure.

From thence he determined to goo vnto the Mahans, where he vnderstode that Spitamenes was. But Fortune that neuer ceased to fauoure hym,

Spitamenes. finished ȳ iourney of his, as she did many other. Spytamenes was enflamed wyth the ouermuche loue of his wife, whom he caried wyth hym in al his hasardes and aduentures. But she that couldc not well endure flyenge, nor to chaunge places like an outlawe, became so wery of trauayl, that by flattery and fayre meanes, she entised her husbande to leaue his flyeng, and go about (seyng he sawe no waye to escape) to procure Alexanders fauoure, of whose clemencye (she saied) he had sene so great experience. And to moue him the more in the matter, she brought before him their chyldre begotte betwixt them, makyng request, that at the least wayes he would take pity on thē, wherin she thought her prayer would be the more effectual, bicause Alexander was so nere at hand. But Spitamenes iudging her not to do this by way of counsail, but of purpose to betray him, and ȳ she desiered to submit her selfe vnto Alexander in confidence of hir beuty, drew out his swerde to haue strikē her, if he had not bene letted by his brethē. whē they would not suffer him otherwise to hurt her, he cōmaunded hir to auoyde hys syght, threatenynge to kyll hir, if she profered to come agayne to his presence. And to mitigate his loue towardes hir, he spente the nyght amonges hys concubynes. But his loue that was so deapelye grounded thereby ceassed not, but rather kyndeled the more towardes his wyfe. Wherfore he reconciled him selfe agayne vnto hir, makyng his continuall request, that she would not counsayl nor moue hym anye more in the matter, but be content wyth suche chaunces as Fortune woulde sende hym, for he esteemed death lyghter then to yeld him selfe. So she purged her selfe of her former persuasion, which appered

to

to her she saied to haue bene good, and though it were after a womans maner, yet it proceaded of a faithfull meanynge. But from thence forth she was contented to do as it shoulde please him. Spitamenes ouercome with her counterfait affection, made a great feall, and after much eatyng and drinkyng became drowsie, and was caried into his chambre. Whē his wife perceiued him to be in a depe slepe, she pulled out a swerde which she had kept secretely for that purpose, and cut of hys head, deliuerynge the same being sprinkeled with bloud vnto her seruaunte that was priuye to the facte, and with hym onely as she was enbrued with bloude came vnto the Macedons campe, willynge it to be signified to Alexander that there was one come, that hadde to speake with hym. He by and by gaue commaundemēt that she shoulde enter, but when he perceiued her defiled wyth bloude, thinkynge that she had come to lament some iniurie done vnto her, willed her to declare what she woulde haue. She desiered that her seruaūt myght come in, from vndereth whose garmente she toke Spitamenes heade, and presented it vnto Alexander. The paines of the face wantynge bloude had taken awaye the knowledge whose it was. But when the kynge perceiued it to be a mans heade he departed forth of the tente, and by enquery vnderstode the matter. The case brought him in greate perplexitie, and was drywen by diuers imaginations into sundrye opinions. He iudged the kyllynge of suche one beynge a fugitiue and a rebell to be greate benefite vnto him, which leuynge myght haue bene a greate let and impediment to his proceadynges.

But one the other syde, considerynge the horriblenes of the dede, that she shoulde kyll hym by treason

dede, that she should kyll him by treason which loued her so entirely, and by whom she had had children, the violences of the actes, ouercame the thank of her benefite. & she was commaunded to departe the Campe, lest the ensample of such lycencyousnes might corrupt the manners and ciuyll dysposion of the Greakes.

Wahans. When the Wahans vnderstod of Spitamenes death they brought Bataphernes bound that was partener with him in his conspiracy, & yelded them selues vnto Alexander. Whobeing deliuered from the greateste part of his present care, determined to reuenge the iniuries of them whiche had bene mysused by the pryde and couetousnes of his deputyes & officers. Therfore he committed Hircania with the Wardons and Tapirious to Phataphernes, to whom he gaue in commission to send Phadates his predecessour to him as Stalamer. a prisoner. Stalamer was substituted ruler of Caria in ỹ place of Arsamus. Arsaces was sent into Media Arsaces. to thintēt ỹ Oxidates should remoue frō thence. Babylon vpon the death of Maseus was committed to Oxydyrmens diditamenes. When he had ordeyned these thinges the third moneth, he drue hys Armye out of ther winter lodgines to go vnto a Countrey that was called Gabala. Gabala. The firste dayes iourney was quiet, and the next not very tempestuous, but yet dayber then had bene accustumed, and not wythout some signyfycatyon of ther calamites that were cōming. The third A tempaste. daie the element was ful of lightning & whē the lightning cessed, it was very darke. The beholding wherof amased ỹ souldiers & put them in great feare. It thundred in maner cōtinually, & the lightning fel in straūg symilitudes, So that the Army stode astonyed, and durst neither go forwardes nor remaine styll in a place

Then

Then there came sodaynely a shower of hayle vp-
uynge lyke a streame, whyche at the firste they defen-
ded by couerture of their harneys. But shortelye after
their handes were so colde and wette, that they could
not holde their weapons, nor yet deuise whiche waye to
turne them selues, findynge alwayes where they tur-
ned their faces, more violence of the tempeste then be-
fore. Euerye manne therefore brake his arraye, wan-
derynge aboute the woodes, and manye that were we-
ried by feare rather then by trauayle, laye downe vpon
the ground, notwithstandyng that the force of the cold
hadde conuerted the shower into a frosse. The trees a-
gaynst whiche they leaned, was a great refuge & helpe
to manye. And yet they were not ignoraunte when
they rested, that they chose them selues a place of death,
for when they lefte to moue their bodyes, the naturall
heate left theim. But ease was so pleasaunt to such as
were weried, that they refused not to dye in resting of
them selues. Their affliction was not onely vehemēt
for the tyme, but also continued verye longe to the en-
crease whereof the lyghte whyche is a naturall delecta-
tion vnto menne, through the darknes of the shower,
and the shadowe of the woode was so taken awaye,
that it appeared as it hadde bene nyght. The kynge
onelye was able to endure this mischiefe, whiche ceas-
sed not to go aboute the armye, drawynge the souldi-
oures together when they were dispersed, liftynge
theim vp that laye on the grounde, and to encourage
theim, he shewed theim the smoke that rose afarre of
from the Cotages, whether he exhorted them to drawe
for succour. There was not any thinge more effectual
to their safeguarde, then that whiles they were asha-
med to leaue their Prynce, whome they sawe endure

this mischiefe, they chafed theim selues with their labour and trauaile. But necessity which in aduers fortune is of more force then any reason, founde out a remedye for this colde. They fell to cuttynge downe the woode, makyng euery where heapes and stackes thereof, and set them on fyre. Then a man would haue iudged that the whole woode had bene on a flambe. For there was scarcely space left betwixt the fires for men to stande. Then their nummed members began to be moued with the heate, and their spirites which were oppressed by force of the colde, began to haue their free recours. Some recouered the cotages whyche necessitie caused them to seke out in the furthermost part of the woode, & the rest recouered the campe, whiche was plonted in a moyste ground. But by that time ỹ shower was ceassed. The same tempest consumed a thousand souldiours, herlets, and slaues. It is saide that diuers were found frosen to death leaning against trees, and yet semed as thoughe they had bene lyuynge and speakyng together. It chaunced that a common souldiour of the Macedons which had much payne to go and carye his armour, came at the last into the campe where the kyng was, who notwithstandyng that he was chafyng of hys owne bodye agaynst he fyre, yet he did rise out of hys chyre, and pullyng of the nummed souldiers armoure that was paste his remembraunce, sette him downe therin. He a greate whyle knewe not where he sate, or who had receiued him. But at length when his naturall heate came to hym, and perceiued it to be his kynges seate, and the kynge to be there presente, was afrayed, and starte vp agayne.

But Alexander beheld hym in the face, and sayed:

Per-

perceiuest thou not now my fouldier with how much better condicion thou liuest then the Persians do vnder their kyng? For it is death for thē to sit in ỹ kynges seate, and the same hath bene the saueguarde of thy lyfe. The next day he called his frendes, and the captaines of the armye togethers promysing to restore to them whatsoeuer they had lost, wherin he performed his promis. For Oxymithres bringing vnto him many beastes of burden with two .M. Camels and great nombre of shepe and oxen, he distributed all amonges the souldiers, wherin he both restored to them their losse, and also deliuered them of their hunger. The kyng gaue great thankes vnto Oxymithres, and cōmaunded his souldiers to carry syx dayes vitels ready dressed, went to the Sacans, where he destroyed all Sacans.
their countrey and of the botie there taken gaue .xxx. thousand shepe in gift to Oxymithres. From thence he came vnto a countrey belonging to a noble prince called Cohortanus, whiche submitted him selfe vnto Cohortanus
the kyng. And he againe restored his countrey vnto hym, exacting nothing of his, but that of his thre sonnes, he should sende two with hym to serue in his warres. But Cohortanus offred to hym all three and made a feaste vnto Alexander with all suche sumptuousnes as belonged to the maner of the countrey. Wherein all the pleasures beyng shewed that coulde be deuised, thyrty virgines of the noble mens chyldren were brought in before Alexander, amonges whome, Roxane.
there was Cohortanus doughter called Roxane, which in beuty, excellens of personage, and in comlynes of apparell (rare amonges those nations) excelled all the reste. And notwithstandyng that they were all electe with whome she was accompanied, yet she drewe

all mens eyes towardes her and specially the kynges, that coulde not well nowe gouerne his affections in suche prosperitie of fortune, whiche is the thyng that the fraylenes of man seldome can auoyde. So that he whithe beheldc the wyfe of Darius and her two doughters (to whome Roxane was nothyng comparable) with no other entent then he myght haue done his mother, was then so farre ouercome with the loue of a young virgine, being but of a base stocke, if she should be compared to kynges bloud, that he affirmed it to be a thyng necessary for the establyshement of the Empire, for the Persians and Macedons to marry togethers: by whiche only meanes shame myght be taken from the vanquyshed, and pryde from the victoryers. He also for his purpose alledged a president howe Achilles (of whome he was descended) ioyned hym selfe with a captiue. And lest his doynges should be thought inury, he would couple hym selfe by waye of mariage.

The father ioyfull of these newes that he loked not for, gladly confirmed the kynges wordes. Who in the heate of his desire, caused bread to be brought furth accordyng to the custome of his countrey, the same beyng the moste religious ceremony of mariage amonges the Macedons. Whiche bread was cut a sonder with a sworde, and eche of them made of it a sacrifice. It is to be thought that suche as establyshed the customes of that nacion, coueted by a moderate and a scarse diet, to shewe to them that were the gatherers of great ryches with howe small a thyng they ought to content them selues. Thus he that was both kyng of Asia and Europe, ioyned him selfe in mariage with a mayde brought in at a maske, to beget vpon a captiue,

A ceremony of mariage amõges the Macedons.

that

that shoulde reigne ouer the victorious Macedons. His frendes were ashamed that he shoulde chose vpon drinke a father in lawe of them that he had lately subdued. But after the death of Clitus all libertie and frankenes of speache being taken away, they semed to agre with their countenaunces the most apt instrument to declare the consent of the mynde. After this was done, he prepared his iourney towardes India, purposing to visite the Ocean Sea. And because he would leaue nothyng behynde his backe that myght be impediment to his expedicion: take order for thirty thousand young men to be leuied out of all the prouinces, and to be brought vnto hym armed, myndyng to vse them both as pledges and souldiers. He sent Craterus to pursue Hauseues and Cathenes, of whome the one was taken and the other slayne. Polycarpon also subdued the countrey that was called Bubacen. Bubacen. And so hauing set all his thinges in order, he sette his whole imaginacion vpon the warre of Inde, whiche was counted to be a very ryche countrey, and to habound bothe with gold, perles, and precious stones, thynges more appertenent to voluptuousnes, then to magnificence, and it was sayde that the Souldiers there had their targettes made of Iuery and of gold. And therfore lest he whiche thought hym selfe to excell the rest, should be passed in any poynt, caused his souldiers to set their targettes with plates of syluer, the horsemen to make their brydels of gold, and their corselets to be bewteried, some with gold and some with syluer. There were hadred .xx. thousad armed men that folowed Alexander to that warre. When all thinges were in redines, for the purpose he long before

conceiu-

Alexander coueteth to be honored as a god.

conceyued in his euell disposed mynde thought it tyme to compasse how he might vsurpe the name and honor of a god, and so willed him selfe not only to be called, but also beleaued to be the sonne of Iuppiter: although his powre had bene aswell to restrayne mens thoughtes as their tonges. His entent was that the Macedons shoulde fall grouelinḡes vpon the grou̇de and worshyp him after the like maner the Persians did their kinges. And to such his desire, there wanted not Pernicious flatterye: the perpetuall poyson of p̄rinces, whose estate hath had more often ouerthrowes by flattery, then by any force of enemies. The Macedōs were not in blame of this, for non of them suffred gladly ther countrey customes to be subuerted. But it was the fault of the Greakes, whyche with ther naughty condicions, corrupted the profession of honeste sciences. There was one Hagys of Argiue as euell a poet as was since Chirillus dates and another called Cleo a Ciciliȧn greue to flatterie both of nature and by the custō of his countrey. They with other the dregge and refuse of their countreys (whō Alexāder reputed more then any of his captaines or his kinsemen) wold haue made it apete to the world, that heauen had layen open for Alexāder, and liked not openly to pronounce that both Hercules, and Bacchus Chaster, and Pollux shoulde all gyue place to his newe godhed. For the bringing of this thing to passe the kyng commaunded vpon a solempne day a feast to be prepared with great pompe, inuiting ther vnto al the great lords, and gentlemen both of the Macedons and the Greakes with whom whe he had sitten and eatyng awhyle he departed from them out of the feast. Then Cleo (as was before determined) set furth his talk vnto great praise & wonder

Hagys. Chyrillus. Cleo.

wonder of the kings vertues rehersing his exceding benefites towardes them al which to requite (he saied) ther was but one waye, and that was: if they would acknowlege him a god who they knewe to be one. For it is a small thing (qd he) to requyte such great benefites towardes you al w^th the roll of alitel frankincense. He shewed the persians customes to be both religious and worse in worshipping there kinges as gods, shewing ther defence & sauegarde to consiste in y^e maiestie of ther prince. He said, y^t Hercules & Bacchus were defied whē they had once ouercome the enuie of such as lived in ther time. And me^n to come after to be safely beleue such thinges as haue bene confyrmed by there predecessours. And if any of you (qd he) will sticke at this matter, ye shal se me the fyrste that at the kinges comming in, shall fall downe grouelyng on the earth and worshyp him. Which president others ought to folow, & spicially men of most wysdome, that should alwages be ensample to others in doing their duties towardes their Prince. His tale tended bitterly against Callisthenes whose grauitye and prompte libertye of speaking was hatefull vnto the kinge, for he thought him the man, which only had staied the Macedones, that ells would redely haue done to hym that honor. Wherupon euery mānes eies were turned towardes Callisthenes, which when silence made said in this wise: If the king were present, Cleo, to heare thes thy words, ye should not be nedeful then to answer the, for he him self would make request that he might not thus swarue out of his kind, into the customes of straungiers. For he would not suffre ye thou shouldest deface & bring in the obloquis & enuyes of men, with such thy pernicious flattery. hys noble actes brought to passe with suche sotterye and

The words of Callisthenes.

good

good fortune. But because he is away, I for hym will thus aunswere the. There is no frute fone type that will continew long. This I meane by the deuine honours, whiche whiles thou goest about to geue vnto the kyng, thou takest his honour from hym. There is a time required that men shoulde beleue hym to be a god, for that gift hath alwayes bene geuē to great mē. when they are once dead, by furhe as came after the. I wysshe vnto the kyng immortalitie after his death, that his life may be long and his estate continual. But sanctifieng is a thing that sometime doth followe a man, but it doth neuer accompany him. Thou diddest reherse ensamples of the defyeng of Hercules, and Bacchus. Thinkest thou that thei were made goddes vpō drinke, and by the decre of one dyner? the nature of Alexanders manhode must be remoued from our mortall eyes, before the fame can bring hym into heuen. Are not they goodly goddes (Cleo) that thou and I can make? would the kyng (trowest thou) be content to receiue of vs the authoritie of his godhedde. I haue great desire to proue thy power. If thou canst make a good, first make a kynge. It is muche more easy to geue a worldly kingdome, then the possession of heuen. Thinkest thou (Cleo) that the immortall goddes will heare the without disdayne, or suffre thes thy wicked deuises to take effecte? they would we shoulde holde vs cōtent with the customes of our fore fathers and for my part I am not ashamed of my coūtrey, nor I require not to learne after what maner I should honour my prince. For in mine opinion, we acknowledge him sufficiently to be king and victozer, of whome we receiue lawes to liue vnder. Calisthenes was fauourably herd of all men, as the persone whom they counted

the

the recouerer of their vniuerſall libertie. He did not only in his tale paynte out ſuche flatterers, but alſo liuely expreſſed the opinion of the Macedons, ſpecially of ſuche as were auncient men, to whome the exchaunge of their olde wages were greuous. The kyng was nothyng ignorant of the wordes that had paſſed betweyxt them, for he ſtode behynde a partition of the hall and heard all the matter. He ſent word therfore to Bages, and Cleo, that at his comming in, they ſhould moue the ſtraungers only to fall downe and worſhyp hym after their countrey cuſtome. And after a whyle the kyng as though he had bene about ſome matters of importaunce, returned agayne into the ſeaſte, then the Perſians fell downe and worſhypped him after ſuche ſorte as was deuiſed. But Polycarpon that ſat aboue the kyng at the borde, aſked one in ſkorne that touched the grounde with his chynne, why he kyſſed no harder. With whiche wordes he moued Alexander to yre, whereof he was euer impatient. So that he ſayd vnto Polycarpon: If it is thou that diſdayneſt to honour me ſhall I be mocked of the alone? He anſwered that it was not ſeamely that a kynge ſhould be ſkorned, nor yet a ſubiect be diſpyted. With whiche worde the kyng plucked hym from the table, and threwe him downe, to whome he ſayd, kallyng grouelynges vpon the earth: Loo haſt thou not done thyſelf, that before thou diddeſt ſkorne in an other man, & therupon he commaunded him toward, & ſo brake vp the feaſt. Polycarpon being thus puniſhed, was afterwardes pardoned. But Calliſtenes whoſe contempt & ſtobburnes the kyng had long grudged at, grounded his diſpleaſure then more deaper, vpon whome, there chaunced ſhortly after an apt occaſion, to be reuenged.

Polycarpus.

It was a custome (as it hath bene sayd before) amonges the noble men of Macedon to put their sonnes when they were past their childhode in seruice to the king as pages to doe necessary busines about his persone. Their wage was to watche nightly by course at the chambre doe where the kyng lay. The concubines were brought in by them, by an other way then where the guarde watched. They likewise receiued the horses of the gromes of the stable, and brought them to the king when he leped on. They alwayes were about the kyng both in hunting and in battail, and were brought vp in the study of liberall sciences. The chiefest honour was geuen vnto them, because they might sit and eate with the kyng, none had power to correct them with stripes but only the king himself. This company was like a nursse or store, from whence al the capitaines and gouernours of the Macedons did come. From thence came their latter kynges whose kynage the power of the Romaynes long after did extinct. Harmolaus one of that nombre, because he had striken a boye whome the kyng had thought to haue striken him self, was by his commaundement beaten, and scourged with roddes, whiche rebuke he toke greuously and complayned to Sostrates his frende that was one of the same company. Whiche seing the body towne, whereunto he had so great affection, and peraduenture offended also with the kyng before for some other cause, Stirred so Harmolaus (whiche was prouoked sufficiently alredy) yͤ eche gaue faith to other to find a way to destroye the kyng. Whiche they executed not with any childishe proceding, but wysely agreed to bring Nycostratus, Antipater, Alcepiodorus, and Philotas, into the felowshyp of their cõspiracie. And afterwards they

A treason conspired against Alexander.

Sostrates.

they ioyned vnto them more, Antipater, & Philonides, & Philippes. But ye meane how to perfourme this purpose semed very difficult. For beyonde all the rest wherein they were, the place being ye accustomed to their course some watched one night, and some another. For if any should happen amonges the that were not privy to the matter, might be a let to ye whole enterprise. Therfore about chaunging the course of their watche, & til other preparacio for therecutio of their purpose, there passed fyue dayes. At length the night came when ye whole nombre of the cōspiratours should watche togethers, who cōtoyled greatly amonges the selues, that they had kept faith to other, wherof so many dayes silence had geuen good proufe, during which time neither feare, nor hope, had altered any of their mindes. So great was the displeasure they had conceiued against the king, or els the fidelitie they bare eche to other. They were standing at the doze where the king did eate, to thintent that at his rising fro the banquet, they might bring him to his chaber. But Alexanders fortune, & the pleasantnes of such as were in his company moued him to drinke largely, whereby & with other pastimes & deuises, ye time was so prolonged, ye the cōspiratours stode in a marueilous perplexitie, one while glad because they trusted to find him dronke when they should go about their enterprise, & an other while in great agony lest he should sit til daylight for, then the custome was to relieue ye watche, & other to succede in their places, and since their course should not come againe till the .vii. night after, they could not be assured that euery one of the would keape the thing secrete during the same time. But whē the day began to appeare, & Alexander was ryssen from the banquet they were so glad to execute their malice, that they were toy-

full to receyue the kyng. There was a woman accustomed to haunt the court whiche being extraught of his minde and seming by some inspiracio to shew thinges to come, mette Alexander and would in no wise suffre him to passe, but perswaded him by al meanes she couth deuise to returne and sit downe agayne. He sayde to her in sporte that the goddes gaue hym good aduyse, and therupō called backe againe his familiers and sat drinkyng tyll it was two owres after daye lyght. By which time an other company had released the watche, and were standing before the kynges chambre dore, notwithstandyng whose commyng the conspiratoures remayned still after the time of their watche exspired. So vehement is the hope whiche mens myndes conceiue, when they be drowned in the desire of greate thinges. The king spake more gently to them then he was accustomed, and willed thē to go to their rest, forasmuche as they had watched al the night before, & gaue vnto euery one of thē in reward .50. sesterces, with cōmendacion of their diligence that thei continued their watche lenger then their tyme. Beyng thus deceyued of the great hope they were in, they departed to their lodginges, in expectacō of the night when their course should come againe. But Ephimanes whiche either by the gentlenes the kynge shewed him amonges the rest, or els that he thought the prouidence of God had withstande their purpose, sodainly changed his minde, and opened the matter they had gone about to his brother Eurilochus, that was not priuy to the matter before. The punishement of Philotas was so freshe in euery mans memory, & Eurilochus layd straight ways handes vpon his brother, and broughth him into the court. He called to the watche and shewed them, that

Ephimenes disclosed the conspiracie.

Eurilochus

he

he brought newes pertayning to the kynges sauf-
guarde. Whiche thyng well apeared, al men by their
comyng at suche a time as also by their lokes, which
was a testimony of their troubled myndes. The watch-
men called by Ptolomeus & Leonatus ryght by compas
the kinges chamber, where they straightway brought them
into the kyng, & wakened him whiche by reason of his
riche drinking lay in a deed sleape. It was long or he
awoke but by litle & litle he came to himself, and asked
what the matter was. Then said Curtius, wonder not
be the goddes yf haue not utterly determined the ruyne
of our family. For though my brother purposed an hey-
nous act, yet is he come to repentance, & by him the mat-
ter is brought to light. This same very lyght treason
was conspired against you, the authours therof be such
as you would scarcely thinke. And therupon Cebalines
declared al kynges to order, with the names of the
conspiratours. It is certaine that Calisthenes was not Calisthenes.
named as one privy to that treason but it was coniectured
that he gladly gaue care to others takes, when they bu-
sied & spake evil of the kinges proceedinges. Some do
adde thereunto, that when Hermolaus did complayne to
Calisthenes howe the kyng had beaten him, he bad him
remembre howe he was a man. But whether he spake it
to cause him to take the thyng in patience, or els to stirre
him to further malice, it remaineth in doubte. When the
king was fully awaked, & called to his memory y peril
he was in, gaue Curtius fifty talentes, with the for-
feit of a riche mans goodes called Cydates, & forgaue
his brother before his pardo was required. He comaun-
ded the principall of this treason to be kept bound, & amo-
ges them Calisthenes which being take & brought into
the courte, the kyng kept all that daye and the nyght

enduryng he was [illegible] and watchyng. The next day he called a great counsail, where the fathers and kynsfolkes of the conspiratours were present, not very well assured of their owne saueguarde, because that by the lawe of the Macedons all ought to dye, that were any thyng a kynne to traytours. All the conspiratours except Callipnes by the kynges commaundement were brought furth, Who immediately confessed the whole treason they had deuised. Then euery man present reuiled them, and the kyng enquired what he had done to them, why they should conspire his death. Then all the other stode styll and held their peace, Harmolaus answered thus, Thou doest demaunde this thyng of vs as though thou knowest not the matter. We went about to kyll the, because thou beganne to reigne ouer vs, as slaues and not free borne. As he was speakyng those wordes his father Perilepolys first of all called hym traytour, and murtherer of his parentes, stoppyng his mouthe with his hande, that he should speake no further. Then the kyng plucked his father backe, and willed Harmolaus to speake such thynges as he had learned of his maister Calisthenes. Then Harmolaus proceded. I will vse thy benefite, and declare those thynges whiche I haue learned to the greate mischief of vs all. Howe smalle is the nombre of the Macedons remaynyng, that haue escaped thy cruelty: Attalus, Philotas, Parmenio, Lyncestes Alexander, and Clytus, be now we deade, but to our ennemyes behoue alyue. They stode in the fyghte, and defended the with their swoordes, receyuing woundes for thy glory and victory, whome thou haste very well rewarded. The one he sprynckled thy table with

The wordes of Harmolaus to the kyng.

with his bloud, and the other coulde not be suffred to dye a simple death. Thus the capitaines of thy people be tormented and put to death: a plesaunt spectacle to the Persians, of whome they were victoryes, Parmenio by whome thou diddest slie thine enemy Attalus, was put to death without iudgement. Thus thou dyest thy handes of vs wretches, as instrumentes one to kill another, and whom thou diddest make thy tormentours, a litle before, straightwayes thou commaundest them to be tormented of others. At those wordes the multitude began to shout against Harmolaus, and his father drewe his sworde of purpose to haue slaine him, if he had not bene letted by the kyng, whiche cõmaunded Harmolaus to speake, & required the rest to heare him patiently, whiche (he said) enforced the cause of his own punishemẽt. At lẽgth with great labour they held their peace, & then Harmolaus began again: how liberall is he to suffre rude children to speake? when the voice of Callistenes is shut vp in prison, because he alone is able to tell his tale, and why? because thou fearest the free speche of an innocent, & because thou canst not endure to behold his face, & yet I will iustifie he is not privy to this matter. But other there be here that purposed with me a noble enterprise, of whom there is not any that can accuse Callistenes of consent, and yet thou that art our patient and rightuous king hast determined here his death. These be the rewardes of the Macedons, whose bloud thou doest misuse as vile and of no valeur. Thou hast. xxx. M. mules carieng spoyle and treasure, and yet the poore souldiers carry nothing with them but vnrewarded woundes and skarres. All which thinges we did easely suffre before thou diddest betray vs to the barbarous, and after a newe trade, of

victourers make vs slaues. Thou allowest the apparell and disciplyne of the Persians, and despysest the maners of thine own countrey. And therfore we determined to kil the, not king of Macedō but kyng of Perse, and as a fugitiue we persecuted the by the lawe of armes. Thou wouldest haue the Macedōs knele to the, and worshyp the as a god. Thou doest refuse Philip for thy father, & if any God had bene before Iupiter, thou wouldest haue refused him likewyse. Doest thou maruaille if free men can not beare this thy pryde: what can we hope for at thy handes? seyng we muste either dye as innocentes, or els that is worse then death, lyue and remayne in boundage as slaues. Thou arte greatly in my debte, if by this thou couldest amende, for thou haste begunne to learne of me, the thyng that free hartes cannot endure. Spare them whose age shalbe sufficiently tormented with the losse of their chyldren, but vpon vs cause execution to be done, to thintent we maye obtayne by our owne death the thynge we sought for by tyme. When Harmolaus had spoken these wordes, the kynge then aunswered after this maner: Howe false theke thynges be whiche he hath learned of his instructour, my patience doth declare. For notwithstanding he before confessed this treason. Yet my mynde was ye shoulde heare what he could saye. Knowyng very well that when I gaue lybertie to this thief to speake, that he woulde vse the same rage and fury in his talke, which before moued him to haue kylled me, whome he ought to haue loued as his father. Of late when that in huntyng he vsed a great presumption. I commaunded hym to be chastised after the custome of our countrey vsed by the kynges of Macedon. Whiche chastise-

The oracle of Alexander

ment

ment we muſt graunt nedefull to be done, lyke as the people bee accuſtomed of their tutors, the wyfes of their huſbandes, and ſeruauntes of their maiſters. This was all the crueltie I vſed towardes hym, which he would haue reuenged with murther and treaſon. But howe gentle I am to all perſones, that ſuffree me to vſe myne owne diſpoſicion, ſynce you your ſelfe doe knowe, it were ſuperfluous for me to reherſe. I can not maruayll at all, though the punyſhement of traytours be diſpleſaunt to Parmelaus, ſince he hym ſelfe is in theſame caſe, for when he commendeth Parmenio and Philotas, it maketh for his owne purpoſe. I pardoned Lynceſtes Alexandre, whiche was accuſed by two witneſſes, that he twiſe cõſpired treaſon againſt me. And againe conuicted, yet deferred I his punyſhment twoo yeares, tyll you your ſelues required he might haue his deſeruing. Towching Attalus ye remembre very well howe he wrought treaſon agaynſte me before I was kyng. And for Cyrtus I would God he had not moued me to yre, whoſe rathe tounge ſpeaking rebuke and ſhame both of me and you, I ſuffred lenger then he would haue done me, ſpeaking the like. The clemency of kynges and rulers, cõſiſteth not only in their owne diſpoſicions, but in theres, that be vnder their ſubiection. For the rigor of ſuche as be rulers, is mitigated with humilitie. But when mens mindes be voyd of reuerence, & high & lowe be confounded as a like, thẽ force is neceſſary to repulce violẽce. But why maruel I, ỹ he did lay cruelty againſt me, ỹ durſt obiect towardes me couetouſnes. I wil not cal you to witnes one by one, leſt I ſhuld vpbraide you vp liberalitie, by making declaracio what I haue beſtowed vpon you. Behold ỹ whole multitude, which a litle while ago had no-

els but their bare armour, doe they not lye in syluer beddes: be not their tables charged with plate, and possesse they not whole flockes of slaues? They are not able to susteyne the spoyles of their enemies. But it is sayd the Persians be honoured of me whom we haue conquered. Truly they be so, & yet what greater prouocacion can there be of my moderacion. thē that I do not reigne proudely ouer suche as I haue subdued. I came into Asia not vtterly to subuert the nacions, nor to make the one halfe of the worlde desert, but to geue the cōquered cause, not to repent them of our victory. This is the occasion they gladly fight for you, and for your kyngdome they spend their bloud: which if they were proudly vsed, would streight rebell against you. The possession is not durable whiche is possessed by violence, but the thankes of gentlenes receiued, endureth euerlastingly. If we purpose to enioye Asia, and not to make a progresse through it, we muste make them partakers of our clemency and then their fidelitie shal make our empire stable and perpetuall. And truly we haue nowe more then we can well wyshe or desire. Couetousnes is an vnsatiable thyng, specially when men desire to fill the vessell that runneth ouer. But ye will saye that I myxe and bringe their customes amonges ours: It is so, and white-because I see in diuers nacions right many thynges whiche we nede not be ashamed to folowe. And so greate an Empire as we haue gotten, cannot otherwise be aptly gouerned, except we deliuer some thynges to thē, and receiue likewise some again. One thing is to be laught at, that I should refuse Iupiter for my father, being so acknowledged by his oracle, as who saith, the answere of the gods were in my power. he proffered ỳ name of his sōne vnto me which

was

was not bruyted for ꝑ thinges we purposed. I wolde wisshe ꝑ the Indians beleued me to be a god, for ꝑ ryches is in warre stand much by fame, and that which is faulsely beleued somtyme worketh the effect of thinges true. Do you me geue too exesse and prodigalyte, bicause I garnished your armor with gold and syluer, my purpose was to shewe to men accustumed with it, nothing to be more vile then such kynd of mettell, and to declare that the Macedons inuincible in other thinges could not be ouercome with gold it self. After this maner I shall blynd the eyes of the barbarous, which are wont at the first sight to wonder at things be they neuer so base and vile. And in that we shewe to make no estimation of it, we shall declare to euery one that we are not com for desire of gold nor syluer but to subdue the hole world. From which glory, thou traitour, woldest haue bereued me, and betraied the Macedons (I being slaine) to the barbarous nacions. Thou doest erhorte me, to spare your Macedones. It is nedefull I should make him partie what I haue determyned vpon them: no: and to that intent he might die wyth the greater dolour, if he hath any care or memory of them. It is long ago sins I did forbo the custume of putting thinnocent parentes and kinsfolkes of traytours to death with them. And I now professe to pardon, and haue them al in the same estymacion I had before. I knowe whie thou wouldest haue thy Maister Calisthenes brought furth whiche only esteemeth the being of his sorte bicause thou desirest to here pronoūced of his mouth, those rayling wordes, which euen nowe thou diddest spyt out agaynst me. If he had bene a Macedon borne I had brought hym in wyth the a worthye mayster for such a desiple. But being borne in another

countrey he is subiect to an other lawe, whyche he had spoken these wordes, he dismissed the counsail, & commaunded all suche as were condemned, to be deliuered to the souldiours of their owne bandes, who because they woulde declare by some cruelty, the loue they bare towardes their prince, slew them all by tormentes. Calisthenes also died vpon the racke, innocent of the conspiracye against the kinges person, but a man not pliable to the custome of the courte, and abhorring from the disposition of flatterers. There was neuer thynge that brought the Grekes in greater indignation against Alexander, then that he not onelye killed, but caused to be tormented to death, and that without iudgement, a man endued with Godly maners & good sciences, by whom he was perswaded to liue, when he purposed to haue died for sorowe that he hadde slayne Clitus with his cruelty, repentaūce folowed that came to late. But least he myght nourishe sloenes, apte for sowynge of seditious rumours, he marched towarde India, alwayes more glorious in warre then after his victorye. The whole countrey of India lieth thiekely towardes the East, conteyning more in length, then it doth in breadth. The North partes be full of mountaines and hilles, but all the rest of the lande is plaine, hauynge manye faire riuers, whiche runninge out of mounte Caucasus, do passe pleasauntlye throughe the countrey. Indus is more colde thē any of the other riuers, whose water is not vnlike the color of ỳ sea. But of al the riuers in the orient, Ganges is most excellent, which running frō the south passeth directly throughe many great mountaines, vntil that by the encountring of rockes, his course is turned towarde the east, where it is receiued into the red sea, the violence of ỳ streame breaketh

The discription of India

Indus

Ganges.

breaketh downe his bankes, swallowing in trees, & much of the grounde. In many places the streme is kept in with rockes, where pō it beateth. But where the grou̇d is more softe, there the riuer becommeth more larger, & maketh many Flandes. The greatnes of Ganges is much encreased by Acesines, whereunto Acesines doth enter into ꝑ sea, where these two riuers mete, the water is violētly troubled, whiles the one resisteth the others enter, neither of them seme to geue place. Diardenes is a riuer of the selfe same, because it runneth in ꝑ bitermost bondes of India, but yet it bringeth forth Crocodiles as Nylus doth, & also Delphines, with other monsters vnknowen to other nacions. Crooked Erymanthus with his many turnynges and reflexiōs is consumed by the inhabitours with watering their grounde: which is the cause that when it drawith nere the sea, it becommeth very little, and beareth no name. There be many other riuers that do deuide the countrey but none of them be so famous as these, because they do not runne so farre. The northe wynde dothe blast and harme most those partes that be nerte vnto the sea. But those wyndes be so broken with the toppes of the mountaynes, that they can not endomage the inwarde partes of the countrey, wherfore fruites be very plentifull there and perfite. But that region doth differ so much for the ordinary course of time in other partes of the world, ꝑ when other countries be burned most vō the sunne, India is couered ouer vō snow. And when other places be frosē, the heat is there most intollerable, & yet there appeare not any naturall cause why it should be so.

Acesynes.

Diardenes.

Erimāthus

The couler of the Indian sea not differing much frō the water of other seas, did take his name of king Erithrus, wherof the ignorante take opinion ꝑ the water

of

of those Seas was redde. The land is very habo-
dant of flaxe whereof the more part of their garments
be made. The twygges of the trees be so tender, that
they resemble the print of letters lyke waxe. The byrdes
by teaching counterfeit mens voyce. There be manye
beastes that are not bred amonges other nacions. Ri-
ocerities be there brought furth, but not bredde. The
Elyphantes of that countrey be stronger then those
be made tame in Affrike, and the bignes do answer
vnto there strenght. The water of the riuers do cary
downe gold, and ronne mildly without any great fall.
The Sea doth cast vpon the shore both perles and
precious stones: Wherof proceded the cause of there
great riches after ther Marchandise was once knowē
to other nacions: the purgings of the seas being then
esteemed as mans fansy would make the price. The
disspolycios of the men (as in all other places) be acco-
ding to the scytuation of the countreys they dwell in.
They make there garmentes of lynnyn cloth, whych
couer their bodyes downe to there fete. They bynde
soules vnder there fete of beastes skynnes, & wrappe
roules of linnine aboute there heades. Such as be
in any degre either of nobilitie, or riches, haue precious
stones hanging at there eares, and couer all there ar-
mes wyth brasletes and ornamentes of gould. They
vse greate curiositye in kymminge of there heades,
which they rounde very seldome. They shaue without
anye forme of grauitie, all partes of there face sa-
uinge their chinne. But therselfe in voluptuousnes
(which they cal magnificence) vsed by the kynges ther
do excede the vices of all nacions. When there will
is to be sene abrode there seruauntes cary about them
parfuming pannes of siluer, & fyll al the wayes where
they

The volup-
tousnes
and excesse
in the kings
of India.

they [illegible] sentences, and they themselues be
borne in litters of golde hangynge full of pearles, and
the garmentes they were be of golde and purple enta-
led together. The armed men folow their litter, such
as be of their garde, among who there be birdes boune
vpon boughes, whyche they haue taught alwayes to
synge, when they be occupied in earnest matters.

In the kynges palaye there be pillers of golde car-
ued about wyth Vynes of golde, wherin the images
of those byrdes they delight moste in, be artificially
wrought. The court is open to all commers, when the
kynges do bambe and dresse their heades, then they
vse to geue aunswere to the imbassadoures, and to do
iustice vnto their people. When their soles be taken of
their fete be anoynted wyth swete odours. The grea-
test trauayle they take, is when they hunt wilde beast
enclosed in Parkes, whyche they stryke whiles their
concubynes be syngynge and dalynge wyth them.
The arrowes that they shote be of two cubites long,
whyche doo not the effecte of the force they be shotte
wythall by reason of ther weyght, which is an impedi-
mente to their swiftenes, wherin the propertye of the
arowe chiefely consisteth. In small iourneys they vse
to ryde on horsebacke, but when they haue to trauayle
further, they be caried vpon Elephantes, the huge bo-
dies be couered all ouer wyth golde. And because no
vice shoulde wante amonges their corrupte maners,
great rowtes of concubines do folowe them in golden
litters. The Quenes haue their bandes seperate by
thē selues, which in all excesse of voluptuousnes be no-
thing inferior vnto ꝑ kinges. It belongeth to the wo-
mē there to dresse meat, & they also serue men of wine,
wherof there is great plentye amonges the Indians.

When

when the kyng hath largelye dronke, and is fallen in a sleape, hys concubynnes vse to carye hym into hys chamber, callyng vpon their Goddes, vsyng a songe after their countrey maner. Who woulde thinke that amonges all these vices, there were any regarde had of vertue. There is amonges them a rude and an vnskilfull kynde of people, whom they call wise men, whyche count it the most glorious thyng to prolong their owne deathes, and they vse to burne them selfes whiles they be a lyue. It is imputed for a great shame to such as either can not wel stere for age, or haue not their perfecte health if they prolong their life till their naturall deathe approche. For there is no honoure geuen to those bodies that dye for age. They thinke the fiers be defiled if the bodyes be not alyue that be burned in them. Suche as liue in cityes after a ciuill maner, attayne to the most apt knowledge of the starres mouyng, and to the prophecyng of thynges to come. For they can not thinke that anye man dothe shorten his life, that loketh for death without feare. They esteme those for Goddes that they begynne once to worshippe, and specially trees, the violatyng of the whiche, they forbidde vnder paine of death. They count after fiftye dayes to the moneth, & notwithstandynge limitte their yeres as they do in other places. They note not their tymes by such course of the meane as is cõmunely vsed, that is from the ful moõe, but frõ the first quarter whẽ the begynneth firste horned, & by coũtynge of thẽ after the same maner, make thẽ ỹ shorter. There be many other thinges reported of thẽ, vnto the which I thought not necessary to interrupt ỹ order of this story. As Alexander entred into India, the Princes of the countrey came vnto him submittyng thẽ selues, declaring that he was

The wise men of India.

the

the thirde man that euer came amonges them beynge begotten of Iupiter. They said that Hercules & Bacchus was not known to them but onely by fame but they desired that they might beholde him presentlye with their eyes. Alexander perceiued the myth allegeaunces he could deuise & willed them to accompany him, because he would vse them as guides in his iourney. But when he saw that the whole number came not, he sent Ephestion & Perdicas with part of his armye before to subdue such as would not submit them selues, and willed them to go forwardes tyll they came to the riuer of Indus, and there to make boates, wherby he might transport his armye. And because they had to passe many ryuers the boates were so deuised that they might be taken a sunder to be caried in cartes, and afterwardes ioyned agayne together. He appointed Craterus to folow him with the phalanx, and he with such horsemen and fotemen that were lightarmed went before, and beynge encountred in his waye, foughte a small battayle, and did driue his enemies into the next citye. When Craterus was come, to thintent he might strike terrour amonges those people that had not yet proued the Macedons force, commaunded that when they wanne the citye, they should kyll both man, woman, and child, and burne the same to the bare ground. But whiles he rode about the walles, he was striken with an arowe. Notwithstanding the citye was wonne, and al put to the sworde: the verye houses not escaping the victoryes cruelty. After this he subdued an obscure nation and came to a citye called Nysa. It chaunced y whiles they encamped in a woode before the citye, there fell a cold in the nyght y more afflicted the Macedons then euer it had done before in any other place. The citye of Nisa.

Against

Against the whiche thei prepared the remedy that was next at hande, and cutte doune the woode to make the great fires. The flame wherof caught the sepulchres belonging to the citye, which by reason they were made of Cedre, were sone set on fire, and neuer left burning till they were all consumed. That fire made both alarum to the Citye, and to the campe: for thereby the citizens iudged that their enemies would make some attempt against them, and the Macedons perceiued by the barkyng of the dogges and noyse of men, that the Indians would salye out vpon them. Wherefore Alexander issuyng out of his campe in order of battel, slew such of them as attempted the fight.

Whereupon they within the Citie became of diuers opinions, some were minded to yelde, and other thought good to aduenture the extremitie. When Alexander vnderstode of their diuision, he caused his men to abstayne from slaughter, & only to maintaine the siege. At length they were so wersed wyth the discommodeties of the warre, that they yelded them selues. They affirmed their original to come of Bacchy, who in dede builded their city at the fote of a mountaine called Meroe. The qualitie of whiche mountaine being reported to Alexander by thinhabiters, he sent vittels before, & passed thether with his whole armye, ascendyng vp to the toppe. The mountayne grew ful of vynes & fruit, aboundyng with springes yͭ flowed out in euery place. The same was also plentiful of many kindes of Apples of most pleasaunt taste, the ground also brought forthe corne without any cultiuation. There grew also plenty of Laurell trees, wᵗ many kind of wild frute. I cā not impute it to any mocion of religiō, but rather to plenty and wantonnes, yͭ caused thē to repaire thither, wherof

The mount Meroe.

the

the Iuye and the vyne leaues, they made them selfes garlandes and ran vp and downe after a dissolute maner, all the holowes and valeyes there about reboundyng with ỹ voice of so many thousandes, calling vpō Bacchus, to whom that place was dedicate. Which licence and libertie begonne a fewe, was spredde so sodeinly through out the hole armye, that the souldiers scatered abrode wythout ordre, lay heare and there reposing them selues vpon the grasse and leaues they had gathered togither, as it had bene in a time of quiet and moste assured peace. Whiche vnreuerentnes of the souldiers rising by chaunce, Alexander dyd not withstand, but ten daies togither made feastes to Bacchus during which tyme he plentyfully banketed hys hole armye. Who can therefore denye but that greatnes of fame and glory, is oftentymes a benefite rather of fortune then of vertue: for ther enemies had no harte to set vpon them whiles they were drowned in thys excesse of banketting, dronkenship, and drowsenes but were as much afrayed of there dronken noyse, as if they had hard there cry encountring with them in battell whiche felicitie preseruing them here, did afterwardes defend them after the same maner in the middes of their enemies returning as it were in triumphe from the Ocean Sea, when they were giuen all to fleshing, and to dronkenes. When Alexander descended from the mountaine he went to a countrey called Medala which thinhabiters forsoke & fledde to the woods and the wyld mountaines, and therfore passed from thence into Achaders, which he found both burned and habandoned likewise of thinhabiters, wherby of necessitye he was compelled to vse the warre after an other maner. For he deuided hys armye into diuers partes Medala. Achaders.

& shewed his powre in many places at ones. By which meanes he oppressed them before they coulde prouide, and subdued them to their vtter ruyne. Ptolomeus toke most Cities but Alexander wanne the greatest, and afterwardes ioyned agayne his armye together, which he had thus deuided. That done he went forwards and passed a ryuer called Coaspe where he left Cenon to besiege a riche Cytie called Bezira, and he him selfe went to Amazaga where Assacanus beinge deade had lefte the dominion both of the countrey and the Citie to his mother Cleophes. There were .xxv. thousand fotemen to defend that Cytie whiche bothe was well fortified and stronge of scituation being enclosed vpon theeste with a swift ryuer that hath stepe bankes defendyng the cytie, that it cānot be approched on that side, vpon the South and the weste partes nature as it were for the nonce had planted high rockes betwyxt the which there laye depe holowes and pittes made of old antyquitie, wheras the rockes ceassed, ther began a dike of a wōderfull depth and widenes. The wall wherwith the citie was enclosed was .xxvb. furlonges in compasse, whereof the nether partes were builded of stonne, and the vpper partes of Claye. Yet stones were mixed with the clay, to the intent that the fraille substance clinging to the hardre, the one should bynd the other. And lest the earth washed vpon with the raine might fal altogether, there were stanchinges of Tymbre put betwixt to stay the holle worcke: Which couered ouer wyth bordes was a waye for men to go vpon.

Coaspe.

Bezira.

Amazaga.

Quene Cleophes.

Alexander beholding this kynde of fortification was vncertayne what to do, for he sawe he could not approche to the walles but by fylling of those dikes and holowe

holowe places. And that he could not otherwise fil the, then by making of a mounte, which was the only way he had to bryng his engines to the walles. But whiles he was viewing the towne after that maner, he was striken from the wall with an arrowe in the thieghe. Which he pulled out and without wrappinge of his wound called for his horse, and letted not for hys hurt to giue order for such thinges as he though expedient But at length when by hanging of hys legge, the blod drue from the wounde and waxed colde, wherby hys hurte beganne to payne hym, he then sayde: That he was called the Sonne of Iuppiter but he felt in hym self the passions of a dessealed bodye. Yet notwithstandyng he would not returne into the tampe before he had viewed all thinges that were necessary, and apoynted all thinges he would haue done. After that the souldiers had receyued there apointment, by pluckyng downe of houses without the towne, they gotte great plenty of stuf to make the mount withal. And by casting stockes of trees on heapes into the dykes and holowe places, the mount within nyne dayes was raised vpto the top of the walles, and the towres were planted vpon the same: such was the labour and dilygence the souldiers vsed in the matter.

The kynge before hys wounde was closed vp went to see howe the workes went forwarde and, when he perceyued them in such case, commended the souldiers for there dilygence, & caused thyngynes to be brought to the walles, out of the whych they that defended the walles were sore afflicted wyth shotte. And by reason they had not sene any such kynd of worke, were wonderfully amased, specially when they beheld the towres of suche bignes come forwardes, and yet coulde

not perceiue bi what meanes they were moued iudged those things to be done by ỳ powre of ỳ Gods. And besides they could not think it a mateir of mans inuencion that so great dartes and speares as came amonges them, should be shot by engynes, disperyng therefore of the defence of there Citye, they retired into the Castle. And bicause they could not be satisfied any maner of waie til they had yealded thẽ selfes, they sent Embasseadors to the king to aske pardon. Which thing obtained at his hands, the Quene with a great trayne of noble women came furth bearing in there handes cuppes of gold ful of wyne. Who presenting her little sonne before the kinges feete, not onely obtayned pardonne but also restoryement of her former dignytie. Wherefore some thought that her beuty procured hir more fauore, then his mercie. But this is certaine that the child which afterwardes she brought furth, who so euer did beget it, was called Alexãder. Frõ this place Polycarpon was sent with a powre vnto a City called Oza. Oza, where he ouerthrewe in battel thinhabiters that encountred with him, whereby he got the Citye into hys possession. Ther were many other Cities obscure of fame, that came into Alexanders handes by thabãdoning of thinhabiters, which assembled them selfes togither in armes and kept a rock called Aorun. The rocke called Aorun. The fame was that Hercules had besieged the same before tyme in vaine, and by reason of an earthquake enforced to departe.

When Alexander viewed thys rocke, and sawe howe steepe it was and vnpassable, became voyde of counsell tyl such tyme as an old man that knewe wel the place came to hym with hys two sonnes, offring for a reward to guyde hys men awaye vp to toppe.

Alexander

Alexander promised them .iiii. score talentes, and hea-
ringe one of his sonnes as pledge. sente him to par-
fourme that he had promysed. Mutinus the
kynges Secretary was apoynted with certayne soul-
diers lighte armed to folowe the guyde, whose purpose
was to receiue the Indians by fetchyng a compasse a-
bout the rock. But the same rock was not as the more
parte be, whiche lieng allope hath wayes vp vnto the
toppe by degrees. For it stode bolte vpright after the
fashion of a but, rode benethe and euer as it groweth
vpward lesse and lesse, tyll it becometh sharpe in the
toppe. And it is enclosed on ỹ one syde wt the Riuer of
Indus that hath highe & stepe banckes & vpon the o-
ther with depe dikes & holowe places. ful of water and
mudde. Wherefore there could be deuised no way to
wynne it except those dikes were firste fylled. There
was a woode at hand which the kyng commaunded to
be cut downe, and caulyng the bowes to be shred of
for the cariage, filled the holowes with the bare stockes.
Alexander bare the fyrst tree, and all the souldiers fo-
lowed after with a courageous shewt, for there was no
man that would refuse to do that they sawe the kynge
begynne: So that within .vii. dayes the dikes and
hollowe places were fylled vp. Then the kyng apoyn-
ted ỹ Agrians and the archers to go to the assaulte of
the rocke, and did chose .xxx. ponge men of such as he
iudged most apt for ỹ purpose out of hys owne bande,
to leading of whō he apointed Charus and Alexander Charus and Alexander.
whom he put in remembraunce of his name that was
in comen to them bothe. At the fyrst bicause the hasard
was so manifest, the kyng was not determyned to ad-
uenture his own parson. But when the trompet blewe
to thassault he was of such a redy courag that he could

not obstaine, but making a signe to his guard that they shoulde folowe him, was the fyrste that set fote vpon the rock. Then there were fewe of the Macedons that would gladly haue tarted behynd, but many lefte their array where as they stode in ordre of battell, and folowed the king. The cause of many was miserable whom the riuer that ran by swalowed in, when they fell downe from the rocke. Which sight was sorowfull to such as were out of daunger being admonished by the perel of other, what they ought to feare them selfs So that their cumpassion being turned into feare, lamented aswell them selues, as those whome they sawe slayne after that maner. At length they went so farre furth, that without the getting of the rocke they coulde not returne back againe without there greate destruccion. For there enemies rowled downe great stones vpon them wherwith they were easely beaten downe, the rocke hauing so slippar and vnstable standing. Yet for all that Charus and Alexander whiche were apointed the leading of the .xxx. chosen souldiers, had gotten to ỹ toppe, and beganne to fight hand to hand. But there were so many dartes cast at them from afarre, that they receiued mo woundes then they could giue. Wherefore Alexander bothe myndfull of his name, and of his promise, whiles he fought more egerly then warely, was enclosed aboute and slayne. Whom when Charus sawe deade, he came vpon his enemies, and vnmyndefull of all thynges sauing of reueng, slewe many wyth hys pike and dyuers wyth hys swoorde. But beinge layed at by so manye at onse, he fell downe deade vpon the bodye of hys frende. The death of thes two so hardy younge men, and of the reste moued Alexander greatly, yet

perceyuing

parceyuing no remedy in ỹ matter, caused the retracte to be sowned. It was gretly for their saufgard, that they retired by lettle and little without aperaunce of anye feare and the Indians contented to haue repulsed their enemies pursued not after them. Alexander herupon was determined to leaue of his purpoce, seing he sawe no hope howe to wynne the rock, yet he made a countenaunce as though he ment to cõtinewe the sieg styll. For both he caused the wayes to be closed vp. And made an approche with towers of woode, alwayes putting freshe men in place of them that were weried. When the Indians perceaued Alexanders abstinacy, two dayes and two night they banketed contiuually, and played vpon timbrels after there maner, to cause there enemies thinke that they had no doubte in the siege, but trusted suerly to preuaill. The thirde nighte the noyse of there timbreles ceased, and many torches were sene burning, which the Indians had lighted to se which way they might escape downe the rocke in the darke night. Alexander sent Balacrus to descouer the matter, who found that the Indians were fledde, and that the rock was habandoned. Then asigne was geuen that the holle Armye should giue a showte at once, wherbye they dyd stryeke suche feare amongys their enemyes that fledde wythout order. That many of them thynkynge their enemies had bene at there backes, leaped downe the rockes and slewe them selues. and some maymed in there falling were left behind by there felowes that fled awaie. Thus the kynge being victorer of the place, rathere then of the man, tesstyfied natwithstãding vñ solempne sacrifyces vnto the gods a greatnes of victory, and set vp aulters vpon the rock to Minarua and Victoria.

Balacrus.

And though ỳ guides that he apoynted to his light armed men, parfourmed not so much as they promised, yet there reward was truely giuen them. And the rule of the rock with the countrey theraboutes was cõmitted to Sysocostus. And he him self went forwardes wyth his army from thence to Echolyma. But vnderstanding that certayne streightes through the whych he should passe were kept by one Erix with .xx. thousand armed men. He committed that parte of hys army that were heuie armed to Cenon to be brought on by soft iorneyes, and going before in parson with the slyngers and Archers, put his enemies to flight, making the way clere for hys army to passe that folowed after. The Indians whither it were for the hatred they bare vnto their captayne, or els for to get ỳ fauour of the victorer, killed Erix as he fled awaye, and brought hys head, and hys armour vnto Alexander. Who considering the fowlenes of the act wouldo not honor the doers, for then sample sake, nor punisshe them because they serued his purpose. From thence by .xvi. remouinges he came to that parte of the Riuer of Indus, where Ephestion had prepared al thynges in such sort as he had commission. One Omphis was king of that countrey, which before had persuaded his father to submyt him selfe vnto Alexãder. Who in meadiatly vpon his fathers death sent Embassadours vnto hym to knowe his pleasure, whither he shoulde take vpon hym as a kynge before his comming or els liue priuately in the meane season: And although it was permitted him to gouerne as a king, yet he would not vse the auctoritie that was graunted him. He had caused Ephestion to be receiued in the beaste sort he could deuise, but notwythstandyng had not visited him, by

Sysocostus.
Echolyma.
Erix.
Omphis one of the kinges of Inda

cause

cause he would not commit his parsone to any mans fidelitie but to the kinges. But when he vnderstode of Alexanders comming, he wente against him wyth his holle power. whose Elephantes by small distaūce myxed in battell amonges his fotemen, shewed afarre of, like castelles. At the fyrste Alexander did not take him as a frend, but as an enemye, and therefore set his men in ordre of battell, and hys horsemen in wynges in redynes for to fight. When Omphis vnderstode the errour of the Macedons, he commaūded his men to staye, and puttinge his spores to his horse rode forwardes alone. Alexāder did the like making no doubt whither he were a frend or an enemie but thought himselfe sure, eyther through his owne manhode, or the others fidelity. They meting as it apered by their countenaunces was very frendely, but for want of an interprete they could not speake togithers. Therefore after they had called one vnto them: the Indian king declared vnto Alexander, that the cause he met him wyth an army, was to put in mediatly his hole powre into his handes, nor that he had not taried to treate for any assuraunce by messengers, but vpō trust only had committed both his parson and his kingdome to hym whom he knewe to make warre for the wynning of of glory and fame, and therfore could not feare in him any parfidye. Alexander reioysed to se hys simplicitie, and proffred hym his righthand as pledg of hys promise, and restoring to him agayne his kyngdome, he presented vnto Alexāder. lxi. Elephantes with many other beastes of exceding greatnes and. iii. thousande bulles, which is a cattell of great value in those countreys, and much estemed of kinges. Alexander enquired of hym whither he had vnder hys dominion more

souldiers

ſouldiers or tyllers of the grounde. He aunſwered that he was dryuen of neceſſity to haue more ſouldiers becauſe he was at warre with two kinges whoſe kingdoms lay beyond the riuer of Hydaſpis. There names were Ibyaſſares and Porus, but the auctoritie remayned in Porus. And ſayed that he was prepared and reſolued to aduenture the hazard of the battell wyth ſuch of them as ſhould inuade him fyrſt. Hereupon Alexander graunted vnto Omphis both to take vpon him the Diadeame and the name of hys father that was called Taxiles: the cuſtome of the countrey being ſuch that the name euer folowed the kingdome whoſoeuer enioyed it. When he had receyued Alexander honorablye in hoſpitalitie thre dayes, the fourth daye declaring howe much corne he had deliuered to Ephetion and to his army, preſented to the kyng and to all his frendes Crownes of gold, and beſides of coyned ſiluer .lxxx. talentes. Alexander reioyſed ſo much in hys good will that he bothe returned agayne to hym hys giftes, and gaue him beſydes a thouſands talentes of the prayhe brought with him, with much plate of gold and ſiluer, many garments after the Parcian maner and .xxx. of his owne horſes with the ſame furnymentes they warre, when he did ride vpon them. Which lyberalytie as it bound Omphis, ſo it greatlye offended the mynds of the Macedones. For Meleager at ſupper when he had well dronk: ſated he was verie glad that Alexander had yet found one in India whome he iudged worthy to receiue the gyfte of a thouſand talentes The kyng bearing in mynd, howe much he had repented the ſleaing of Clitus for the raſhenes of his tonnge, refrayned his anger but yet told him: That inuious men, were euer tormentes

to them

to them selfes. The next day the Imbasseadours of king Abysares came vnto Alexãder, who according to there commission offred all thinges vnto hys wyll. Wherupon promise and assurauncе being confirmed, they retorned againe to their Master. Alexander therfore thinking that through the greatnes of hys name Porus might be brought to do ẏ like, sent Cleochares to him for to demaunde tribute, and to somone him to come and make his homage, when he should entre the boundes of hys kingdome. Porus made aunswer that of those two requests he would performe on, which was to mete him at ẏ entrey of his kingdome, but ẏ should be in armes & with a powre. Alexander therfore being determined to passe the riuer of Hidaspes. Barzentes that had bene author of the rebellion amonges the Arachosias was taken & brought to him bound with .xxx. Elephantes which was an apt assistance against the Indiãs, ẏ were wont to put more trust in those beasts then in the force of there own nation. Gamarus king of a smale portion of India, which had cõfederat with Barzentes, was brought likewise bounde vnto him. Wherfore cõmitting thẽ bothe to prison, & the Elephãtes to Omphis, came vnto the riuer of Hidaspes. But Porus lay in camp on the further side to let his passag hauing .iiii. score. b. Elephãtes of huge strength of body, CCC. wagõs of war, & .xxx. M. fotemen, amõges whõ there were many archers whose shaftes (as hath bene said before) were more heuie then they could wel weld. Porus him self did ride vpõ an Elephãt greater then all the rest, who also being of a big stature, apeared notable in his armour that was garnyshed wyth golde and syluer, hauinge also a courage equall to the strength of his body, and so great a wyledome as was possible to be found amonges such rude nacions.

King Abysares.

Kynge Porus.

Barzentes.

Gamarus.

The Macedons were not so muche afrayed wyth the sight of ther enemies as they were in the greatnes of the riuer that they had to passe, which beinge .iiii. thousand furlonges in bredth and so depe that no ford could be found, apeared to them lyke a great Sea. And yet the largenes thereof mitigated nothing the violence of the streame, but ranne wyth no lesse furye then if it had bene narowe, apering by the reparcussiō of the water in many places to be ful of great stones in in the bottome. This riuer being sufficient to feare them of it self, ꝑ sight of the further banck ful of horse and men was an encreasse of there terror. Where the Elephantes that had bodies of vnreasonable greatenes stode in there sight being prouoked to brayd of purpose, to thintent that with their terrible noyse, they should fill their eares ful of feare. Though the Macedons were courageous and had there hartes full of good hope, as they which often tymes had had experyence of there owne actes. Yet there enemies and the Riuer bothe togither made them wonderfully amased For they could not think how to keape a stedfast course to the further shore, in so weake, and tottring boates. nor when they were there, coulde see howe to arryue wyth surety. There were many Ilands in the middes of the Riuer, into the which both the Indians and the Macedons did swyme holding there weapons aboue there heddes. And there skyrmished togither in the syght of both the kinges, which by experymente of such smale thinges, made triall of the successe of the holle. But amonges al the Macedones ther were two noble yong mē called Symachus and Nycanor excelling in bouldnes & in desperat attemptes and though there continuall good fortune had goten a courage to

The Riuer of hydaspis

Symachus Nycanor.

despise

despice all perill. Other yong men of the moste hardiest toke them for there captaynes, and without any other armour sauing there pikes swome ouer into an Iland that was full of their enemies, where through bouldnes only they slewe many of them, and so myght haue returned with glory, if rashnes where it findeth prosperous successe could euer be content with measure. But whyles with skorne and pride they taried for ther enemies, they were sodeinly enclosed of such as priuely swome ouer the riuer and were killed with dartes which they caste at them from afarre. Such as in thys case escaped there enemies, were either drowned with the violence, or the Eddyes of the streame. Thys fight put Porus in great courage, that sawe all they? doinges from the further shore. And though Alexander was longe vncertayne what waye to take, yet at length he deceyued his enemye by thys policy. There was an Iland in the riuer greater then ? rest, & apte to hide his deuise, by reason it was full of woode, and had a great rampire cast vpō that banck that was towards hys enemies. Where both his fotemen and horsemen might stand couered from the sight of the Indians. And the rather to turne there eies a nother way from the spying out of ? opportunitye, he caused Ptolomeus with a great nombre of hys horsemen, to shewe them selues against there enemies farre of from the Iland and to put the Indians in feare of there arye, making euer a shewe as though they would swyme ouer the riuer. Which thing Ptolomens dyd many dayes continially together, to the intent that Porus should be enforced to remoue hys powre to that part to with tād him, and by that meanes brought them out of the sight of the Iland. Alexander also caused hys owne

The policie Alexander vsed in passing of hys daspys.

pauilyon

Paulyon to be set vpon the riuers side ouer agaynste hys enemies. and all the pompe that partayned to the state of a kyng, to be set furth within there viewe, with the same band standing in sight, whych was wonte to remayne about hys parson. Furthermore Attalus that was equall wyth Alexander in yeares, and lyke to him of face and parsonage, stode there openly aparayled lyke a kynge, that it might appere to Porus, that Alexander was styll remayning there, and went not about to passe the riuer. The execucion of this deuise was first letted by a tempeste, whereby afterwardes it was furthered, & brought to good effect: fortune euer vsed to turne her dyscommodities into good successe towardes hym. For when the enemies were thus attent to obserue Ptolomeus, that lay beneth vpon the riuer agaynst them, and Alexander with the rest of that army busie about the passing of his men into the Iland before mencioned. There fell sodeinly a great storme scarsely tollerable to such as lay within there cabbens, which so much afflicted the souldiers abrode, that they forsoke the boates and fled agayne to land. And yet for all this ther clamor and there noise was not harde of theyr enemies through the vehemency of ỹ showre. As this tempast begāne sodeynly, so it sodeinly ceassed. But the clowdes remayned darke, that there appered not so much light, as the souldiers myght knowe one an other by the face when they spake togethers.

Whyche darknes myght haue feared some other man, considerynge they had to rowe in a Ryuer that they knewe not, their enemies paraduenture wayting for them at ther landynge, whither they went as blind men, that for glory, sought for parill.

But Alexander vsed that thing that put other men in terror

tero to serue for his purpose and willed that euery mā
vpō a signe giuen should enter into there boates with
silence. His boat was the first that launched from the
shore towardes the further syde that was boyd of hys
enemies, Porus only keping hys watche agaynst Pto-
lomeus. There was but one boate ꝑ stioked by the way
vpon a racke, and all the other recouered the lande.

Alexander then commaunded the souldiers to prepare there armour, and fal into aray and whiles he was deuidyng hys men to put them in ordre of battayll and marching towardes hys enemies, it was reported to Porus, that a great nombre of men of warre were come ouer the riuer and landed, which would streyght wayes giue him the battell. But he at the fyrste according to the fault that is in mans nature, through the ouermuch confidence he had in hym self, beleued not the matter, but thought that Abrasares whych was confederat with him, had come in his assistaunce. But when the daye appeared, and the matter was manyfest, Porus then put furth. C. armed wagons and foure thousand horsemen vnder the leading of Hages his brother, to keape Alexander doyng. They counted those wagons there pryncypall force, for euery one of them caryed .vi. men, two archers, two with targets, and two that ruled the horses, which were not vnarmed, but when it came to the fyght they let there reaynes loose, and bestowed there dartes amonges there enemies.

The batteil betwixt Porus and Alexander.

Hages Porus brother

But theuse of those wagons serued that daye to smal purpose, for the shoure that had fallen more violently then was accustumed, had made the feldes so wete & slabbye, that the wagons coulde not shurre but sticked in the mire & decāe immouable.

Wheras

Wheras Alexander being without baggage or anye other thing that might be impediment vnto him fiercely inuaded his enemies. The Scythians and the Dahans were the first that gaue the onset and Bardicas was apoynted with the horsemen to charge vpon the right hand battell of the Indians. Then the battells beginning to ioyne in al partes, they that had the charge of the wagons counting them the laste refuge slacked there raynes, and rushed forwardes into the middes of the fight. The comming of thes wagons apeared to be a matter daungerous, and doubtfull to both parties. For at the fyrst brunt both the Macedõs were borne ouer, and ouer throwen by them, and when the wagons came in any roughe or myrye places, the Indians were throwen out of them. For when the horses that drewe were ones galled, and put in feare, they caried ỹ wagons without gouernment, and tombled parte in the myre, and parte in the riuer. A fewe trauarsed ỹ feldes & fled for succour vnto Porus: who seinge hys wagons scatered ouer all the feldes, and wãder aboute about there rulers distributed ỹ charge of hys Elephantes amonges hys frendes and placed hys fotemen and archers behind them.

He had many ỹ soundyd vpon Timbrells, beinge instrumentes that ỹ Indians vse in stede of trõpettes wherwith there eares were so filled that the noyse of there enemies little moued them. They bare also the Image of Hercules in the frunt of there fote battell, whiche was done for an encouragement for them to fight wel, and for a note of a reproue & offence to them that should flee from that there standard. For it was lolle of lyke to them that left it in the feld. So that

the

So that the feare whiche they conceiued of Hercules that sometyme had bene their enemye, was then turned into a veneration and a religion. The sight bothe of the Elephantes and Porus him selfe, astonied the Macedons, and caused them a while to staye. For the beastes beyng set in order amonges armed men, shewed a farre of lyke highe towers, and Porus him selfe exceadynge in maner the stature of manne: the Elephant whereupon he did ryde, was a fetryng lothy vnto hys bygnes, whiche excelled so muche all the other Elephantes as he him selfe excelled the rest of menne. So that Alexander beholdynge both Porus and hys power, saied that at lengthe he had founde a perill equall vnto hys harte. For we haue to do (quod he) both with terrible beastes, and with notable men of warre. And therupon lokyng towardes Ceno, a frende vnto him: When I with Ptolomeus, Perdicas, and Ephestion, shal set vpon the left battaile of oure enemmes, and shalt see vs in the heate of the fyghte, doo you then set forwardes my ryght battayle, and freshlye assayle them, when you see them begynne to fall out of order. Antigonus, Leonatus and Tauron, do you bende agaynst their maine battayle, and set vpon their fronte. Their pikes be longe and stronge, and can not serue to anye better vse, then againste the Elephantes and suche as they carry ouerthrow them, & thrust the beastes through. The Elephantes be but an vncertayne force, whyche vse to do moste harme to their owne parte.

For as they vse to goo agaynste their Enemies so longe as they be at commaundemente: so when they be once putte in feare, they tourne agaynste their owne syde, and shewe moste rage towardes theim. He hadde not so sone spoken those wordes but

he put spores to his horse, passyng against his enemies, and when accordynge to hys appoyntment he hadde geuen the charge, Cemus with a great force brake vpō the left battell. And the Phalanx at the same instant brake in amonges the middes of their enemies. When Porus saw the horsemē geue ỹ charge, he put forward his Elephantes to encounter thē. But they beyng slow beastes & not apt sodaynly to moue, were preuented by the swiftnes of the horses, and their bowes were not to them of any great effect.

The confusion that fell amōges Porus men.

For by reason their arowes were so long and heauy that they could not nock thē within their bowes, except they staied first their bowes vpon the ground, and the ground being so slippery that thei could haue no perfite foting: whiles thei were preparing thē selues to shote, their enemies were come amonges them. Then euery man fell from the order that Porus had geuē, as it chaūseth oftētimes amonges troubled mindes, where fear beareth more rule thē the capitaines appointment. For in so many partes as their army was deuided, so many generals there became amonges thē. Some would ioyne all their battels in one, other would haue them deuided. Some willed to staie, & other to go forwardes, and enclose their enemies about. There was no generall consultation amonges them. Porus notwithstandinge accompanied with a fewe, with whom shame preuailed more thē feare, assembled such together as were dispersed abroade, and went forwardes against his enemies, settinge his Elephantes in the fronte of the battaile. They put the Macedōs in terrour, troublyng with their vnwonted crye not onely the horse, that naturally do feare them, but also amased the men, and disturbed their order. In so muche that thei whiche a lit-

tle

flé before thought them selues victoriers, loked aboute whiche waye to flee, and saue theim selues. Whiche thinge when Alexander perceiued, he sente against the Elephantes, the Agrians, and Thracians that were men light armed, and apter to skyrmish a farre of, then to fight hande to hand. They gaue the Elephantes and their gouernours muche a doo, and sore afflicted them wyth the multitude of their dartes and arrowes, that they bestowed amonges them. And the Phalanx came constantly forwardes against them that were in feare. But suche as pressed ouer forwarde in fyghtynge wyth the Elephantes, procured their manifest destruction, who beynge trampeled to death wyth their fete, were an example to other, not to be ouer hastye in aduenturynge them selues. The moste terrible sight was when the Elephantes wyth their longe trunkes, (whiche they called proboscides) toke menne in their armoure from the grounde, and deliuered them vp to their gouernours. The battaile was prolonged doubtfully tyll the daye was farre spente. The Souldiours sometime flyng from the Elephantes, and sometime pursuing after them, vntil that with a certaine kynde of weapons called Copida (whyche croked lyke sithes, and prepared for the purpose) they cut the Elephantes vpon the legges. Those the Macedons had right aptly deuised, for not onely the feare of death, but also the feare of a newe kinde of torment in death, caused them to leaue nothynge vnprouyded. Finally the Elephantes wearied with Woundes, with their violente strugglynge did caste their gouernoures to the Earth, and tare them in peces, for they were put in such fear, that they were no more hurtfull to their enemies, but driue out of the battayle like shepe.

Porus beynge forsaken of the more parte of hys men, ceassed not to caste Dartes (wherof he had plenty prepared vpon hys Elephant) amonges them that flocked aboute hym, wherby he woundyng many, by reason he laye open to euery mannes blowe, was layed at on all partes, tyll he hadde receiued nine woundes behynde and before, throughe the whiche he bledde so muche, that he had no power to cast any more but for feblenes they fell out of hys handes.

The Elephante also whyche he dydde ryde vpon, pricked forwardes wyth furye, made a great disturbaunce amonges the Macedons, vntyll that hys gouernoure seynge the kynge so faynte, that he let fall hys Dartes, and to be almost past hys remembraunce, sturred the beast to flee awaye, whom Alexander folowed in all that he myght, but his horse that was thrust in wyth manye woundes, fel downe deade vnder him. Wherfore whiles he was aboute to chaunge and take an other, was caste farre behinde. In the meane season Taxiles brother, that was sent by Alexander vnto Porus, began to exhorte him that he should not be so abstinate to proue the extremitye, but rather yelde him selfe vnto the victorer. But he notwithstandyng that his strength was neve past, and his blonde fayled, yet sturred vp at a knowen voyce, saied: that he knewe him to be the brother of Taxiles, A traytoure to hys king and his countrey, and with that word toke a dart whiche by chaunce was not fallen awaye, and threwe it so at Taxiles brother, that it passed throughe the middes of hys breste vnto hys backe. And hauynge shewed this last proofe of his manhode, he fled agayne more faster then before.

But

But when the Elephant through many woundes that he had receiued fainted in like sort, then he stayed and turned his fotemen towards his enemies that folowed. By that time Alexãder was come nere him, who vnderstandyng the wilfulnes of Porus, willed none to be spared that made resistaunce. Wherupon euery man threw dartes against Porus, & suche fotemen as stode in his defẽce, wherwith at length he was so oppressed that he began to fal from his Elephant. Then the Indian wyche was his gouernoure thinkyng that Porus desiered to haue lighted, caused the beast after hys accustomed maner to bende towarde the earth, whyche submittynge him selfe, all the rest as they were taught bowed downe their bodies likewise, which was ỹ cause of Porus takynge and of the reste. When Alexander sawe Porus bodye vpon the grounde, caused him to be spoyled, thinkyng he had bene dead, and diuers ranne about him to pull of his harnays and his vesture, whiche thyng when the Elephant saw, he began to defẽd his master, runnyng vpõ his spoylers and went about to lift him agayne vpon his backe. Wherupon they all settyng vpon the Elephant, threwe hym, and layed Porus in a carte. Whom when Alexander did beholde lyfting vp his eyes, moued with no hatred but with compassion, saied vnto him. What mischiefe and madnes was in thy mynde, hearyng of the fame of my actes, to hasard the battayle with me and my power, seyng Tapyles was so neare an example of the clemency that I vse to suche as submit them selues? To whom he made answere. Forsomuch (quod he) as I am demaunded a question: I wyl aunswere as freely as I am spokẽ vnto, knowing mine owne strength, & not hauing yet proued thine, thought no mã of greater power thẽ my selfe

Alexanders wordes to Porus.

Porus ans swere.

But nowe the ſucceſſe of this battel hath declared the to be mightier. And yet therin I do impute to my ſelfe not a little felicitie, that I haue gotten the ſecond place and am nert vnto the.

He was aſked more ouer his opinió, after what maner he thought good the victorye ſhoulde be vſed. Vſe it (quod he) after ſuch ſort, as this dayes fortune ſhal put in thy mind, wherin ther hath ben ſufficiēt proke ſhewed you, how trāſitory ỹ felicitye of mā is. This admoniſhment aduailed him more, then if he had ſubmitted him ſelfe or made any ſute. For when Alexander ſawe the greatnes of his courage, and his hart ſo voide of feare that it coulde not be broken with any aduerſitye, was moued not onely to geue him his life, but alſo honorablye to entertayne hym. For ſo long as he laye diſeaſed of his woundes, toke no leſſe care of his curing thē if he had fought in his quarel. And when he was once healed contrary to that which all men loked for he receiued him amonges the numbre of his frendes, and enlarged his kingdome greater thē before. There was nothing in Alexāders nature more perfite or more cōſtante, then that he woulde euer haue vertue in admiration when it was ſuche, that it deſerued true praiſe and glory. And ſpecially when he ſawe the ſame in ỹs enemy. For when it chaunſed in any of his owne men, it was ſomwhat terrible vnto him, thinking that their fame might be a deſtructiō to his owne greatnes, whiche he euer thought to growe more greater, as they were of greatnes that he ſubdued.

The ninth boke of

Quintus Curtius of the actes of the great Alexander kyng of Macedon.

(.v.)

ALexander retoyslnge in so notable a victorye, wherby he sawe the confines of ỳ Orient opened vnto hym, offred vp sacrifice vnto the Sunne, & to cause his souldiours to be more willyng to goo forwardes in finishynge the rest of the warres, assembled thē togethers, & after he had commended their doynges: declared how in that latter battayle, they hadde defeated & broken the force of all the Indians, and shoulde fynde frome thencefoythe nothynge but a plentifull praye. For (he sayed) that in the countrey whereunto he was goynge, the riches chiefelye remayned, that was so muche spoken of throughout the whole worlde. In respect whereof, the spoyles of the Persians were but vyle and baggage, and that occasion nowe was geuen theim, not onelye to fill their owne houses, but also all Macedonia and Greace with pearles, wyth precious stones, wyth gold, and wyth Iuorye. The Souldiours beynge desirous bothe of riches and of glorye, because they hadde neuer fownde his worldes vayne, promised him to do whatsoeuer he woulde haue them. Wherupon he dismissed them full of good hope, and set theim about the makyng of shyppes, to the intente that hauynge ouerrunne all Asia, he myght visite the Occean Sea, that was in the ende of the worlde.

The Mountaynes nerte at hande were plentifull of Tymber, to make Shippes withall, in cuttynge

downe wherof the Macedons founde Serpentes of such bignes, as they hadde not sene before, & also Rhynocerites, beastes that be seldome founde in any other place, whiche name was geuen to theim by the Grekes, for in the Indian language they be otherwise called. Alexander builded a Citye vpon either side of the Ruer of Hidaspys, whyche once perfourmed, he gaue to euerye one of his capitaynes a crowne of golde, and a thousand pieces of golde besides, preferryng and rewardynge euery other accordynge to their qualitie, degree, and deseruyng. Abyazares whyche had sent Embassadours vnto Alexander before the battayle fought wyth Porus, sent then Embassadours to him agayne, offeryng to do all thynges that he woulde appoynt, so that he kepe his bodye at libertye. For he desiered not to lyue, except he myght remayne a kyng, and he thought hym self vnmete to raygne after he had bene once a captiue. He signified bi them to Abyazares, that if his commyng should be greuous, he woulde not stycke to visite him in parson. Hauyng thus vainquished Porus, and passed the ruer of Hidaspis, he wente forwardes into the inwarde partes of India, whyche was a countrey full of great woodes, and high trees, the ayre very holesome & temperate, the shadowe of the trees mitigatynge the heate of the sunne, and the plentye of sprynges keppynge the grounde moyste. There were also manye Serpentes sene, whose scales glistered lyke golde. There was nothynge more daungerous then the poyson that proceaded from theim, for immediatlye vpon the stingynge, Death folowed, tyll suche tyme as the inhabitours of the Countrey shewed a remedye. Frome thence throughe Desertes they came vnto the great Ruer of Hyaotys, where-

Rinocerites

Hyaotis.

unto

vnto there ioyned a great wood. Whiche hauing such trees as are not wont to be sene in other places, was also full of wilde peoples. Alexander remouing his campe from thẽce wan a towne by assault, and taking pledges, appointed them to pay tribute. After that he came to a great cytie (after the maner of that coũtrey) which was both wel walled, and also enuyroned about with a mariſſe. The inhabitaunce came furth against Alexander, and ioyning their cartes together in a cr̃ot (wherin their custome was to fight) thei proffered him the battaill. Some occupied dartes, some speares, and other axes, and with greate agilitie leaped to and fro their cartes, when either they wouldе relieue their fellowes that were wery of fighting, or els succour or reſcue such as were in diſtreſſe. This vnwonted kind of fighting put the Macedons at the first in feare, ſpecially beyng hurt a farre of by their enemies, and not able to come to hande ſtripes with thẽ. But after they had cõſidered their diſordred maner, they eſteamed not their force, but encloſed their enemies about & thurſt thẽ in with pikes, & the ſoner to defeate them they cut the bandes wherwith the cartes were tied to ſeperate them aſonder. When they had after that maner loſt eight hundred of their men, they fled again into the cytie, whiche the next day the Macedons did wynne by aſſault: Certayne there were that ſaued them ſelues by flieng, whiche ſeing the cytie loſt, ſwomme ouer the water, and filled al the townes thereabout with feare. They declared of what inuincible force their enemies were of, iudging them in reſpecte of their power rather goddes then men. When Alexander had gotten that cytie, he ſent Perdicas with a parte of his army to deſtroy the countrey, and committing another parte to

Eumenes. Eumenes for the subduing of suche as would not become obedient, he with the rest of his power came vnto a strong cytie whiche was the refuge of all the countrey thereabout. Notwithstanding that the inhabitantes sent to Alexander for peace, yet they prepared neuertheles for the warre, by reason of a sedicion which rose amonges them, that made them to be of diuers opinions. Some wold rather haue endured any extremitie then to yelde, and other thought they were not able to make resistaunce, and whiles they differred so in opinions, and made no commen consultacion amõges them. Suche as helde opinion to yelde vp the cytie, opened the gates, and receyued in their enemies. And notwithstanding that Alexander had iuste cause of displeasure against the countrey faccion, yet he pardoned them all, and receyuing their pledges, remoued towardes the next cytie. When the Indians that stoode vpon the walles, sawe the pledges that were brought before the army, whome they perceyued to be of the same nacion, desyred communicacion with thẽ, who declaring bothe the kynges clemencye, and his force, dyd moue them to rendre vp their cytie: whose ensample the rest of the cytie dyd folowe. From thence

Sophytes. he came into the cytie of Sophites whiche is a nacion (as the Indians thynke) moste excellyng in wisdome, best gouerned, and that haue the best customes amonges them. The chyldren that be there gotten, are not nourysshed and brought vp, accordyng to the wyll of their parentes, but by the ordre of suche as haue the charge committed vnto them to viewe the state of the infantes. If they perceyue any not apt to be come actiue, or els wantyng any of their lymmes, they cause them streyght wayes to be killed. They

vse

vse to marry without any respect of the kyndred they come of, or the greatnes of parentage, makyng no choise, but in the shape of the body, whiche is the thyng that is only esteemed amonges them. The kyng hym selfe was within ỹ chiefe citie of the countrey, against the which Alexander brought his power. The gates were shut, and no man appeared in armes vpon the walles to make any defence. wherefore he stode in doubte a great while, whether the cytie was abandoned, or els that the inhabiters had kepte them selues secrete for some policy. Whiles he remained in that expectacion, sodainly ỹ gate was opened, & the king (which in good lines of personage excelled al the rest) came furth with his two sonnes, he ware a garnēt of gold and purple enpaled, that couered the caulf of his legge, & the soles he ware on his feete were set with pricious stones. All his armes were garnyshed with pearles, and had hangyng at his eares two precious stones whiche were excellēt both for bignes and brightnes, & there he had a scepter of gold set with precious stones called Berillis, which he after his salutacion made, with hūble submission deliuered vnto Alexander: yelding both hym selfe his children, and his kyngdome into hys handes. There were in that countrey very notable dogges for the huntyng of wylde beastes, whiche specially were geuen to be egre vpon the lyon. The kyng therfore to shewe their force and propertie vnto Alexander, put foure of them vnto a great lyon, which streight wayes caught hym faste. Then one whiche was accustomed to that office, toke one of those dogges by the legge to plucke hym of the lyon, and because he woulde not loose hys holde, cut of his legge with a sworde. But when the dogge sticked neuer theles

vnto

vnto his game, he was cut a sondre in peace meale, till suche tyme as he died: hauing his teath stil fastened in the lyons flesshe. Suche a feruentnes nature had wrought in those beastes, as we vnderstode by the reporte. Some tyme I am enforced to write thynges that I can scarsely beleue. For I neither dare affirme the thinges wherof I doubt, nor counceale suche thinges as I haue receiued for truthe. Alexander leuing this kyng within his owne kingdome, came vnto the ryuer of Hipasis, and there ioyned with Ephestion, which had subdued the countrey thereabout. One Phegelas was kyng of the next nacion, whiche commaunding his subiectes to continue in tilling of the ground as thei were wont to do, mette Alexander with riche presentes, refusing nothing that was commaunded him. When he had taried with him two dayes, and was determined the third daye to haue passed the ryuer, he found therin great difficultie by reason that the streame was so large, and full of great stones. He staied therfore a while, to be more fully aduertised of ỳ estate of those cõtreis, & of all suche thinges as were necessary for him to know. He vnderstode by Phegelas howe beyonde that ryuer there lay a desert of ten dayes iourney, & next to that desert, the ryuer of Ganges, which was the greatest ryuer inal the Orient. He shewed that beionde Ganges there inhabited two nacions called Gangaridans, and Pharrasians, whose kyng was called Agramenes, whiche vsed to come to the field with .xx. thousand horsemẽ, & .CC. thousand footemen, two thousand armed wagons, and thre .M. Elephantes, whiche were coũted the greatest terrour. Those thinges semed incredible vnto Alexander, and therfore enquired of Porus, if the thinges were true

hyspasis. kyng Phegelas.

Gangaridans. Pharrasiãs Agramenes

that

that had bene told him. He cõfirmed Phegelas reporte
concernyng the lowe of the nation. But he sayde
their king was come of no noble bloud, but of the ba-
sest sorte of men, whose father being a Barbour and
with great payne getting his daily liuyng, came in fa-
uour with the quene, by reason of his personage, who
brought him to haue al the doinges about the king her
husband, which was afterwardes slayn by their trea-
son, and vnder colour to be some tutor vnto the chyl-
dren, vsurped the kyngdome to him selfe, and putting
the childre to death, did beget him that was now king,
whiche was in hatred and disgrace of the people folo-
wyng more the maners of his fathers former estate,
thẽ such as did beseme ẏ dignitie he was come to. whẽ
Alexander harde yͤse thus affirme this matter he beca-
me in great trouble of minde, not that he regarded the
multitude of his enemies, nay the sorte of their Ele-
phantes. But he feared the greatnes of the riuers and
the scituacion of the cõtrey, so difficult to entre vpõ.
He thought it a hard enterprise to seke out nacions so
farre inhabityng in the vttermoste bounder of the
worlde. Yet on the other syde the greedines of glory, &
the vnsaciable desire of fame, made no place to seme
to far, nor no aduenture to be ouerharde. He doubted
also that the Macedons whiche had passed so many
countreys, and were wearyed with warres, would
not be content to folow hym ouer so many riuers and
against so many difficulties of nature lyeng in their
way. For he iudged that since they haboundede & were
so laden with spoyle, they would rather seke to enioye
suche thynges as they had gotten then to trauaill any
further in getting of more. He could not thinke ẏ same
appetite to be in his souldiers that was in himselfe.

For

For he cõpassed in his mynd how to get the Empire of the hole worlde, into which matter he had but made his entre: where as they wearied with trauail and thinking to haue past all perill, loked now to enioy with spede, ꝑ frute of all their labour: yet for all that, his affection ouercame reason. For he assembled his army together & spake vnto them after this maner. I am not ignorant (my souldiers) howe ꝑ there be now many rumores sowed amonges you by the Indians of purpose to put you in feare. But the vanitie of their lieng is not so newe a thing, that it is able now to deceme you. The Persiãs after that maner would haue made both the streytes of Cilicia, and the plaines of Mesopotamy terrible vnto you, yea & put you in feare of the ryuers of Tigre & Euphrates, & yet we wadyd quiet thorow thẽ, and passed the other by a bridge. The same neuer reporte thinges truly, but maketh al thinges greater thẽ thei be in dede. Euen our glory, though it be growen to certain perfectiõ, yet it is more in fame, then in effect. Whiche of you of late did thinke, that you should haue bene able to endure the Elephãtes, shewing a farre of like castels. Who thought I could haue passed the ryuer of Hydaspis, when I hard it reported to be marche greather then it was: We should long ago (my souldiers) haue fled out of Asia, if tales could haue caused vs to turne our backes. Thinke you that the nõbre of the Elephantes be greater, then you haue seue herdes of beastes in other places: seing thei be so rare in ꝑ world and being hard to be taken, are muche harder to be tamed. The same vanitie that hath reported them to you to be of suche nombre, haue nombred also their horsemen and their footemen. Concernyng the ryuers, the more broder they be, the more gently they must runne.

Alexanders Oracion to his souldiers.

For

For suche as be narowe and of smalle brede, ronne alwayes with moste behement streme. Where as contrariwise the brode ryuer passe their course more mildly. But you will peraduenture saye that all the perill is at the shore, where youre enemies shall wayte for your arriuall. What soeuer the ryuer be the hasard is all one at the landing. But ymagen that al those thinges were true: Whether is it the greatnes of the beastes, or the multitude of the men that put you in feare? As concerning the Elephantes we haue had experience of them of late, howe muche more vigorously the rage against their owne party then against vs. What should we esteme the, but only abate the greatnes of their bodies, with suche weapons as we haue prepared for the purpose. What matter is it whether they be of the like nõbre that Porus had, or whether thei be .iii. M. seing that we perceiue, that when two or three be once wounded, the rest bende them selues to flie away. And forasmuche as thei cannot well be gouerned when they be but fewe, when there be so many thousandes together they must then nedes be an impediment one to another, and brede a confusion amonges them selues, they be so vnwieldy by reason of their huge bodies, that they be neither apt to passe forwardes nor yet to flie. I haue alwayes so litle esteemed thē, that when I haue had plēty of ỹ kynd, I wold neuer dise thē: knowing very well ỹ they be more daungerous to such as occupie thē, thē thei be to their enemies. But peraduenture it is ỹ multitude of their horsemē & fotemē that do moue you: haue you bene accustomed to fight against smalle nombres, or is it the first tyme that you haue encountred with disordred multitudes? The ryuers of Granick is a witnes howe inuincible the power of the Macedons

is

is against any multitude. And so is Cilicia ꝑ flowed with the Persians bloud, and Arbella whose playnes be strewed with their bones. It is ouer late to counte the nombre of your enemies, after that with your victory ye haue made Asia desert. When ye passed ouer Hellespont, you should then haue considered your smalle nombre. Nowe the Scythians do folowe vs, we haue ayde at hande from the Bactrians, ꝛ we supply our power with the Sogdians. Yet for all that it is not in them I put my confidence. I haue a regarde vnto your force, I reserue your manhode about me, as a pledge and assurance of my actes and doinges. So long as I may stande in the field amonges you, I wil neither way my self nor myne enemies. Doe you but shewe an apparaunce that there is hope in you ꝛ therefulnes. We are not nowe newly entred into our trauailes, but haue passed all our labours, being come to the rising of the sonne, and to the Persian sea, except our owne slougthe be our impediment. From thence hauing subdued the worlde, we shall returne as victorers into our countrey. Doe not you as these negligēt husbandmen, that lose their fruite after it is once ripe. The rewardes of our iourney be greater then our peril. The countrey that we go vnto, is ryche and of no force, thether I purpose to bring you bothe to wynne glory ꝛ to get you spoile, for worthy you are to cary such riches in to your cōtrey, whiche be so plentifull there, that the sea doth cast them vp against the shore. Ye be men of that vertue, that ye ought to leaue nothyng vnproued nor nothing vndone for feare. I desire and praye you by the glory ye haue gotten in whiche ye exrede the state of men, and by all that I haue deserued of you, and you of me, where with ye remaine as inuincible:

eible: that ye wil not forsake me purposing to visite the end of the worlde, me I say, that haue bene brought vp as a chyld amonges you, I will make no mencion howe I am your kyng: In the rest of things I haue commaunded you, let me nowe entreate you in this one point. It is I that make this request vnto you, whiche neuer commaunded you any thing, but I put myselfe formost in thaduenture & daunger, and the which ofte times in mine own persone, haue bene the formoste in defence of the battaill, take not the victory out of my handes, with the whiche (if enuy be not the let) I shall become equal in glory, both to Hercules and Bacchus. Geue your assent to myne intercession, and at length breake your obstinate silence. Where is your showting become that was wont to be a declaracion of your cherefulnes: Where be the countenaunces of my countrey men: I know you not my souldiers, and it semeth that I am not knowen of you: Me thinkes I crye to your dede eares in vayne, and go about in waste to flatre vp your vnwilling and vnmouable myndes. Notwithstanding all these wordes, they hong downe their heades towardes the earth, and persevered stil in silence. Then he proceded: I know not (quod he) wherin I haue vnwitting offended you, that you will not once vouchesaue to loke me in the face. I seme to be solitary and in a desert. Is there none of you that I speake vnto will aunswere me: Is there none at the lest wayes will deny my requeste: What is the thyng that I require: euen your owne glory, and your owne greatnes. Where be they nowe, whome I sawe not long ago contending who should first take their kyng when he was wounded, and nowe ye leaue me alone, ye forsake me, ye betraye me to myne enemies. But I

will not leaue mine enterprise though I go alone. But me forwardes to those ryuers, to those beastes, & to those nacions, the very names of whome ye feare so muche. The Scythians and Bactrians shall go with me, whiche of late were myne enemies, and now be my souldiers. I had rather dye then be a king, to be ruled and at other mens appointment. Departe you home, go I say, and triumphe of the habandoninge of your kyng. For I will either obteine here the victory, wherof you haue dispayred, or els dye a death that shal be honorable. Notwithstanding all that he had sayde, there was not one souldier that would open his mouth to speake, but stode wayting that some of the princes, and great capitaynes, shoulde declare vnto the kynge their estates, and howe that there remayned not in them any obstinat refusall of the warres, but that they were so exhausted with woundes, and weried with continuall trauaill that they were not able to endure any lenger. As they stode thus astonied and afrayed, keping silence and lookyng vpon the grounde, there beganne firste a whisperyng and a rumor, and afterwardes a lamentacion amonges them, and by lyttle and little they beganne more manifestly to shewe their dolour, the teares fallyng frō their eyes. The kynges anger was then so turned into compassion, that he was not able to keape hym selfe from weapyng. At length the whole assemble brast out into an excessiue wepyng. And when all the rest were at a stay to speake Cenus toke vpon hym to presse forwarde towardes the iudgement seate where Alexander stoode, signifieng that he had somewhat to saye. When the souldiers sawe he pulled his helmet from his head (for so it was the custome to speake vnto the kyng) they began

to

to require hym that he woulde bitter the cause of the whole army. Then Cenus began in this wyse: The Goddes defende our myndes from all wicked thoughtes (as I doubt not but they wyll) there is none of your souldiers but be of the same mynde towardes you that they haue bene in tymes past. Whether it be your pleasure to commaunde them to go forwardes, to fyght, to hasarde them selues, or with their bloud commend your name vnto the posteritie. And if you will nedes perseuer in your opinion, though we be vnarmed, naked, and without bloud, we will either come after you or go before, as you shall thynke expedient. But if you wyll be content to heare the griefes and complayntes of your souldiers that be not fayned, but expressed by force of very necessitie, I humblie beseche you then that ye woulde vouchesaue fauourably to heare them, that constantly haue followed your authoritie and fortune, and are yet redy to folow whersoeuer you wil appoynte. O Alexander with the greatnes of your actes, ye haue not ouercome only your enemies, but also your owne souldiers. Whatsoeuer mans mortalitie is able to fulfyll, that is performed by vs, hauing passed ouer so manye Seas and countreys, better knowen to vs then to the very inhabiters, nowe remaynyng in manet in the vttermoste ende of the worlde. And yet for all this, your purpose is to passe into an other worlde and seke out an Inde vnknowen to the Indians. Ye couet to plucke out the wilde beastes and serpentes out of their dennes & lurking places, minding to serche further with your victory, then the sonne hath visited vi her beames, which truly is an imaginatiō mete for

Cenus wordes in the name of the whole army.

your harte, but farre exceding our capacitie and power. Your manhode and courage is alwayes an encreasle, but our force groweth in declinacion. Behold our bodies destitute of bloud perced with so many woundes, and rotted with so many scarres. Our weapons nowe be dulled, and our armour is wasted & consumed, we weare our apparell after the Persiãs manet, because our countrey garmentes do faill vs. We are degenerate out of our own fasshion, & growen into a straũge habite. What is he that hath his corselet, or horse particuler to himselfe? Cause it to be enquired how many seruauũtes do folowe their masters, and what remaineth to euery mã of the spoyle. Being the victorers of al mẽ, of all men we are the poorest. It is not hadoundaunce or excesse that trouble vs, but the very warre it selfe. Our munition is consumed, and yet your will put furth this goodly army of yours naked vnto those beastes. The multitude of whom though the Indians purposely do encreasle, yet of their lieng we maye perceyue the nombre to be greate. But if ye be vtterly determined to passe yet further into Inde, the coũtrey that lyeth southward is not so desert, whiche beyng subdued you may passe to that Sea, whiche nature hath appointed to bound in the worlde. Why doe you seke that glory afarre of, whiche remayneth to you redy at your hande? Here the Occean sea doth mete vs, and except your mynde be to wonder, we are come to a place whether your fortune hath brought vs.

I had rather speake these thynges before you, then behynde your backe, for I seke not to wynne fauour amonges the men of warre that stande here about me, but desire you should rather heare their myndes expressed in playne woordes, then to heare their

griefe

griefe and their grudge, brewed in muttering & in murmour. When Cenus had made an ende of his tale, the rose a crie, and a lamentacion, whiche with confused voyces euery where called Alexandre their king, their father, and their lord. Then the other captaines & specially the elders, whiche by reason of their age had the more honest excuse, and greater auctoritie, made the like requeste. So that the king was not able to chastise them being in that obstinacie, nor mitigate them being so moued. Therfore vncertayne what to do, he lept frō the iudgement place, and commaunding his lodging to be shut in, admitted no man but suche as were accustomed about his persone. Two dayes he consumed in his anger, and the third he came furth amonges his men, causing xii. aulters of square stone there to be set vp as a monument of his expedition, & willed the trenches of his campe to be made greater, and the places of mens lieng, to be enlarged bigger, then serued for their bodies. For he thought by the entreasyng, of the fourme and shape of thynges to leaue a disceitful worke vnto his posteritie. From thence he returned again by the way he had passed before, & encamped vpon the riuer of Acesines. Cenus chaunsed there to die, whose death the king lamented. but yet he said: that for a few daies he had made a long oracion, as though he alone shuld haue returned into Macedon. By that time the nauy of shippes which he had apoited to be made, stode in redines aflote. Wemnō in ỳ meane season brought him out of Thrace a supply of. vi. M. horsemen, & besides from Harpalas. vii. M. fotemen, with. xx. v. M. armours that were wrought with siluer & gold, which he distributed amonges his men, & cōmaunded the olde to be burned, purposing to passe vnto ỳ Oceā sea vi. M. Wemnon.

shyps. But before his departure he reconciled together by affinitie Porus & Taxiles, betwixt whō there was a new discord risen, vpō the old hatreds that had bene betwixt thē. He had of thē great aide both in ỹ making and furnishing of his nauy. During the tyme he was about that busines, he builded there two cyties wherof he called thone Nycea, & the other Buchephalon, dedicating the latter by the name of his horse ỹ was dead. He gaue order that his Elephantes and cariage shuld passe by lande, and he sayled downe the ryuer, procedyng euery daye about .xl. furlonges, so that he might euer land his power in suche places as he thought conuenient. At length he came into a cōtrey where as the ryuer of Hidaspis and Acesynes do ioyne togethers & ronne from thence into the boundes of a nacion called Sobyons. They declared that their predecessours came of Hercules army, whiche beyng left there sicke, did inhabite the countrey. They were clothed in beasties skinnes, vsyng clubbes for their weapons, and though they had left the customes of the Grekes, yet there appeared many thinges amonges them, that declared from whence they were descended. Here the kyng landed and marched .CCx. furlonges within the countrey, whiche he wasted, and toke the chiefest cytie in the same. There were .xl.M. men that stode in defence against hym vpon a ryuer syde, but he passed the water, puttyng them to flyght, and after they fledde into the cytie, he wanne it by force. The chyldren were slayne, and the rest solde as slaues. He assaulted an other cytie where he was repulsed, with the great force of the defendauntes, and lost many of his men. But when the inhabitauntes sawe, that he continued still the siege, dispayring of their saulfeguarde, they set fire

Nycea, Bucephalō.

The Sobians.

on their houses, & burned them selues, their wifes and their children. Which fire when the Macedons quenched, they kyndled agayne, it seamed a straunge contention. The Cytesins destroyed their owne cytie, their enemies laboured to saue it: the waters so contrariously chaunged the lawes wrought in man by nature. The castle was saued, wherin a guarrison was left. Alexander went about this castle by water which was inuironed with thre of the greatest ryuers in all India, Ganges except. Indus falling vpon the north syde, and Acesynes comming into Hidaspis vpon the south. Where these ryuers met, the waues rose, lyke as they do in the sea. They be full of mudde and oses, whiche by the course of the water dryuen vnto the sydes, for all that the ryuers be broade, yet the chanelles be but narowe the shyppes must passe in. The waues dyd ryse so hygh and thicke breaking comtynne vpon the puppes of the shippes, and somtime vpō the sydes, that the shipmen beganne to bale their sayles. But they were so troubled through feare, and the violent swiftnes of the streame, that they could not ordre their tackling, so that two of their greatest shyppes were drowned within syght. And the smaller vessels which they were as vnable to gouerne, were dryuen vpon the shore without any harme. The kyng chaunsed vpon the place where the waues went hyghest, wherwith his shyppe was so tossed and trauersed, that the helme could not direct his course. Wherfore the kyng doubtyng of drownyng, pulled of his garment redy to caste hym selfe into the water, and his frendes dyd swymme nere there about redy to receyue hym. It appearig to him doubtful, which peril was greatest, either to swimme, or to cōtinew still aborde. But ỹ mariners

laboured wōderfully with theit oers adding all ꝑ force that lay in mans power to cut through the waues. By whose importunate trauaill the water semed to deuide a sondre and to geue place. So that at length they haled out of the surges and yet not able to bring the ship to the shore, dashed vpon the next flat, it appearyng that the shyppes, and the streame had fought a battaill togethers. Alexander hauing escaped this perill, sette vp to euery ryuer an aultar, whereupon he offred due sacrifice, and that done, past forwardes thirty furlonges. From thence he came into the countrey of the Sudrychans and Mallians, whiche accustomed to be at warre amonges them selues, then for theit owne defence ioyned in societie. They assembled in armes to the nombre of .ix. thousand footemē .x. M. horsemē, and .ix. C. armed wagons. Wherof when the Macedons were aduertised, whiche beleued that they had passed all perils, seing a freshe warre arise, with a new fierse nacion, were amased with a sodayne feare, and began agayne with seditious wordes to reproue their kyng. They alledged that he would lately haue compelled them to passe the ryuer of Ganges, for to make warre vpon those nations lyeng beyonde the same. Which enterprise though it were left, they had not for all ꝑ ended the warre neuer the more, but rather made an exchaunge of a newe labour, beyng put further amonges these wylde nacions, to make the Ocean sea open to hym with their bloud and to be drawen beyonde the sonne and sterres. They were compelled (they sayde) to vysite those places, whiche nature coueted to remoue from mans knowledge. They grudged that to their newe armour, there were newe enemies rayled vp, whom if they should vaincquishe and put to

sudrichās Mallians.

The wayt nus words of the soul diers.

flight

flyght, they coulde not see what benefite they shoulde receiue therby, but onely darkenes and obscuritie of the ayre, whiche alwayes couered the depe sea, whyche sea was replenished wyth multitude of monsters, wallowynge in those immoueable waters, where as Nature decayinge, fayled of her force. The kynge little moued in his owne respecte, was greatly troubled with those passions of his souldiours. Wherfore he assembled theim altogether, declaring of howe feable a force those nacions were, whom they feared so muche, which only remayned, and were impediment vnto them (hauyng passed ouer so manye countreys) to atteine both to the ende of their trauayle, & to the ende of the world. He shewed howe that in respect of their former feare, he had lefte his enterprice ouer Ganges, with the conquest of the Nacions inhabitynge beyonde the same, and had directed his iourney this waye, where as their glorye should be as great, and their peryll muche lesse, and wherin they had not farre to trauayle, seynge the Ocean was in maner within sighte, the ayre wherof he felt blowyng in his face. He required them therfore that they woulde not enuye the glorye that he sought, by passyng the boundes of Hercules, and Bacchus, seyng that with so little payne they myght geue vnto their kynge perpetuall fame and immortalitye. In doynge wherof they shoulde departe out of India as victorers, where as otherwise they shoulde seme to flye from thence. It is the propertye of euerye multitude, and specially of men of warre, to be drawen vnto euery lyttle motion, amonges whom, as sedition dothe sone rise, so it is sone pacefied. There was neuer a more cherefull crye made of any armye before, the the Souldiours then made vnto Alexander, whiche willed

Alexander perswaded his souldiours.

him

hym to leade them whether soeuer he would, and make him selfe equall in glorye to them, whose actes he dyd counterfeite. Alexander reioysinge in the wallyngnes that appeared in them, remoued straightwayes towardes hys enemyes that were the stowtest people of all the Indians. They prepared theim selues boldely for the warres, and chose for their captayne one of the Oridracans that was of an approued manhode, who encamped at the fote of a mountayne, made fiers all abroade, to cause his numbre appeare the greater, and wente aboute in bayne to feare the Macedons when they were at reste, by makynge of alaroms, with their crves and maner of howlynge. When the daye appeared, Alexander hauynge an assured truste to winne the victorye, commaunded the Souldiours to put on their armoure, & cherefully to fall in order of battayle.

But the Indians whether it were for feare or by reason of some sedition risen amonges them, sodainelye fledde into the deserte mountaynes, whom Alexander folowed in vaine, and not able to ouertake them, toke their cariage. After this he came vnto a citye of the Oridracans wherunto great numbre were fled, aswell in trust of the strength of the place, as of their owne power. As Alexander was about to make the approch, Demophon his deuiner admonished him, ꝑ he should either deferre the matter, or els not meddle with it at all, for ꝑ there appered signes that his life should be in perill. When Alexander had hearde his wordes, he beholde him and saide. If any man should interrupt the, when thou art busie about thy science, or considerynge of the intrailes, shoulde not he seme vnto the troublous, and his cõmyng vngratefull: Yes truely quod he,

The Oridracans.

Demophon.

he. So art thou nowe vnto me (quod Alexander.) For hauynge so greate matters in hande, whiche passe the intrailes of Beastes, I fynde no greater impedimente, then a superstitious diuiner.

And as sone as he hadde spoken the worde, he caused them to rere vp ladders, and whyles other menne sticked and stayed at the matter, he mounted vp the walle. The same was verye narrowe in the toppe, not deuided wyth lopes (as is communely vsed,) but enclosed with one whole and continuall battlment rounde aboute, which caused it to be the more hard to scale.

Alexander therfore hauyng no conuenient rowme to stande at his defence, stayed vpon the walle, receyuyng vpon his target the dartes whyche were caste at him from all partes. His souldiours could not get vnto hym, they were so beaten from the walles by castyng of dartes, and multitude of shotte that came from aboue. Yet at length when by their stayinge thei sawe their kyng geuen vp into their enemies hands, shame ouercame their immaculate daunger. But their ouermuche haste was ouer great a lette, and the cause why they coulde not come to the rescue of their king. For whyles euery manne coueted vp the ladders, they were so sore laden that they brake asunder, and suche as were mounted vpon theim fell downe agayne, deceyuynge Alexander of hys onelye hope. So that in the syght of all the armye, he stode destitute as in a deserte wythout anye ayde or succoure, and hadde wered hys lefte arme (wyth the whyche he helde his Target) in receiuynge the blowes. His frendes cried vnto hym that he shoulde leape downe vnto theim, who stode in readines to receyue hym. But he geuynge no eare vnto theim, vndertoke an incredible enterprice,

and

and such one as hath not bene hearde of before, deser-
uynge rather fame of rashenes, then of any commen-
dation that might sounde to his glorye. For with a ful
leape he did caste him selfe into the cittye that was full
of his enemies, whereas he coulde scarselye haue anye
hope to fyght for his life, or in dyinge to be reuenged
vpon his enemyes. For before he coulde recouer hys
fete agayne, it was likelye either he shoulde haue bene
slayne, or taken alyue. But he by chaunce so conueied
his bodye, that he fell vpon his fete, and standinge, en-
countred with such as came againste him, Fortune so
prouidyng ꝑ he coulde not be enclosed about by reaso
of an olde tree, which (as it had bene of purpose) stode
neare vnto the wall, whose broade boughes full of lea-
ues couered him from aboue, and the greatnes of the
stocke kept his enemies from comming on his backe,
and vpon the fore front he receiued the dartes ꝑ were
cast againste him with his target. For though there were
neuer so many that contended with him a farre of, yet
durst there no man come neare vnto him, and the bou-
ghes kept of the arrowes and the dartes so well as his
target did. In this extremitie the greatnes of Alexan-
ders fame chiefly fought for him, and next desperatio,
a great encouragement for a man to dye honestlye. At
length through the multitude of his enemies that con-
tinually flocked about him, both his target was laden
with shotte, his helmet was broken wyth stones, and
his legges fainted and fayled vnder him, by reason of
his continuall trauaile. Whiche thing when his ene-
mies perceiued, they toke lesse regarde to them selues,
and drue more neare him, of whome he receiued two
with his swerde in such sort, that thei fell downe dead
at his fete. And from that time forwardes none was

so

ſo bolde to approche againe ſo neare him, but threwe dartes and ſhotte arowes at him a farre of. He laye open to euery mans blowe, and yet though it were with great payne defended him ſelfe vpon his knees, vntil ſuche time as an Indian ſhotte an arowe at hym that was two cubites long, whyche a little aboue his right thighe paſſed throughe his corſelet. By reaſon of that wounde he ſhedde ſo muche bloude, that he lette his ſwerde fall, as one at the pointe of death, and therwith ſo faynte, that he hadde not ſtrengthe to plucke oute the arrowe. Then the Indian whiche hadde hurte him, came with great ioye to ſpoyle hys bodye. But when Alexander felte his enemies hande vpon hym (moued as it is to be thought) with deſpite, to receyue an infamie to that extremitie, called againe his ſpirites that were paſſynge awaye, and with his ſwerde thruſt his enemye (beynge vnarmed) throughe the bodye. When he had thus ſlayne two of his enemies whyche laye dead before him, all the reſte ſtode amaſed a farre of. Then Alexander deſieryng before his laſt breathe ſhoulde faile hym, to be kylled fightyng, began to raiſe vp his bodye vpon his target, but his ſtrength woulde not ſerue him therunto, & therfore retched at a bough that honge ouer his heade, couetynge therby to haue rayſed vp hym ſelfe, but his ſtrength not ſuffiſynge therunto, he fell downe againe vpon his knees, and by a ſigne made with his hande, chalenged his enemies, if any of them durſte come and matche with him. At the laſt Penceſtes repulſinge his enemies vpon an other parte of the citye, gotte into the towne, and coaſtyng along the walles, came vnto the place where the kynge was. When Alexander eſpied hym, thoughe he had no hope to liue, yet he toke his comming for a com-

Penceſtes

fort

fore to hys deathe, and for all his feablenes beganne to reare vp him selfe. Then came Timeus, and within a while Leonatus, and after them Aristonus. When it was once published amonges the Indians, that Alexander was entred within the walles, they left their defence in other places, and came flockynge thither, where as they fiercely assailed such as stode in defence of the kynges person. Tymeus after that he hadde fought notablye, and receiued manye woundes, was there slayne. Pencestes also notwithstandynge that he was stricken and wounded wyth their Dartes, yet with his Target he defended the kynges person, without anie reguarde of him selfe. And Leonatus whiles he resisted the Indians, that egerlye pressed vpon Alexander, receyued so sore a stripe vpon the necke, that he fell downe in a swowne at the kinges fete. By that time Pencestes became so feable of his woundes, that he was not able to defende him anye more. The laste hope and refuge remayned in Aristonus, who also was so greuouslye wounded, that he coulde not endure anye lenger the force of the Indians.

Timeus. Leonatus. Aristonus.

In the meane season the fame was spredde amonges the Macedons, that their kynge was slayne, whiche beinge a matter that shoulde haue putte others in feare, sturred vp their hatres, and made theim the hardier. For from that time forwardes, there was none that hadde respect of his owne peryll, but aduentured to the wall, and breakynge downe the same with pikeaxes, entred at the breache makinge slaughter of their enemies, of whom fewe stode at defence, but fledde awaye. There was neuer man nor woman spared, olde nor yonge. For they mette none but they iudged him to be the person that hadde hurte their kynge, and so at

length

lengthe with the murder of the multitude, their furie ire was satisfied. Clitarchus and Tymagenes do write that Ptolomeus whiche afterwardes became king of Egipte was presente in this encountre. But he him selfe that vsed not to denye any thynge that stode with his owne glorye, did put in memorie howe that he was then absent, and sent about an other enterprice. Such a negligence was in theim that did write the antiquities of thinges, or elles an ouermuche credulitie, whiche is a faulte, no lesse then the other. When Alexander was brought into his lodgyng, the Surgians cut of the stale of that shaft in suche wise, that they moued not the heade that was wythin the flesshe. And when they sawe the wounde bare, they perceaued hokes to be within the arrowe heade, so that wythoute the destruction of his bodye it could not be pulled out, except by incision they made the wounde greater. And yet in that paynte they feared, least aboundaunce of bloud shoulde be impediment vnto them. For the heade was verye great, and it seamed to be entered farre wythin his bodye. Clitarchus Tymagenes

There was one Critobolus that was verye cunnynge and moste excellente amonges all the Phisitions and Surgions, and yet in so daungerous a matter as this, he was fearful and in doubte to set to his handes, least if any thyng shoulde chaunce to the kynge otherwise then well, whiles he remayned in hys cure, the blame myght lyght vpon his heade. Therfore whē Alexander perceiued by his weping the fear he was in, and that through trouble of mynd he loked pale in the face, sayde vnto hym: What is it that thou lokest for, or whye doest thou staye in riddyng me quickelye Critobolus.

out

out of this payne, at the leaſte wayes by death, if thou canſt not otherwiſe bringe it to paſſe: For ſeinge my wounde is vncurable, why doeſt thou feare that anye thing ſhoulde be laied vnto thy charge. When Critobolus heardе his wordes, he either ceaſſed, or diſſimuled his feare, and exhorted Alexander that he woulde ſuffer him ſelfe to be holden whiles they pulled out the arrowes heade that was within his fleſhe, for the leaſt motion (he ſaied) might be hurtefull vnto him. The kynge woulde not be holden, but helde his bodye at a ſtaye without mouyng in ſuch ſorte as they appoynted him. When they had cut the wounde wider, and pulled out the heade, there iſſued ſuche aboundaunce of bloude, that the kinge fell in a ſownde, & dimnes came ouer his ſight, he ſtretching out him ſelfe as one in the pointe of death. Then they wrought all the meanes they coulde to ſtaunche the bloulde, but when they perceiued it would not auaile, his frendes beganne to cry out and lamente, thinkyng verely that there had bene no waye but death. Notwithſtanding at length he ceaſed his bleadynge, and recouering againe his ſpirites, began to knowe theim that ſtode about him. All that daye and the nyght enſuynge, the men of warre ſtode in armes aboute the kinges lodgynge, confeſſing that al their liues depended vpon his breath, and would not remoue from thence, before they vnderſtode that he toke ſome reſt. But when they knewe that he was fallen a ſleape, they returned into the campe, bringynge vnto the reſt more certayne hope of his recouerye. Alexander about the curynge of his wounde, remayned there ſeuen dayes, and vnderſtandynge that a conſtante fame of his death was ſpreade abroade amonges the Indians, he cauſed two Shyppes to be faſte-

ned

ned together, and a lodgynge to be made for him in the middes. So that remaynynge vpon the water, he myght be seene from bothe sides of the lande, of them that thought he hadde bene deade. When the countrey menne by the bieue of hym, perceiued he was on liue they toke awaye the hope that some hadde conceiued vpon the false reporte. Frō thence he passed downe the streame, leauynge a distaunce betweene his shippe, and the reste of the naurye, to the entente that with the beatynge of the oores, they shoulde not disturbe hym of his reste, whiche was necessarye for his weake bodye. The fourth daye after his embarkynge, he came into a countrey habandoned of the inhabitours, but yet plentifull bothe of corne and cattell, in which place he thought expediente bothe to reste him selfe and hys souldiours. It was a custome amonges the Macedons, that when their kynge was diseased, the chiefe Princes, and the greate men, watched aboute his lodgynge. Whiche manet beynge then obserued, they entred all together into the chamber where Alexander laye, at whose sodoine commynge he was some what amased, specially bicause they came all together. He thought thei had brought him some straunge tidinges and enquered of them if they vnderstode of any new assemble of his enemies. Then Craterus which was appoynted to speake in the behalfe of them all, sayed to him after this maner.

Craterus wordes to Alexander.

Do you thynke that the commynge of any enemies coulde make vs so carefull, thoughe they were entered within your campe, as we be of your health and sauf-guarde, for all that it is a thinge whiche you reguarde least. Though all nations conspire against vs with their power, thoughe the whole worlde were filled full

of men of warre, the Seas ouerspreade with shippes and neuer so manye straunge beastes brought against vs, it consisteth in the moment of your person to make vs victoryers. But howe can anye God promise that you whiche be lyght and starre of Macedon, can be of anye continuaunce? seynge that you be so desierous to put your persone in suche manifest perylls, not remembrynge that with your death you drawe with you into ruine, the liues of so many of your countrymen? What is he that either can or dothe desire to lyue after you? We are come so farre for the folowynge your fortune and authoritye, that without you, none of vs is able to returne home againe.

If ye were yet contendynge with Darius for the kingdome of Perse, thoughe we all woulde wyshe that you woulde not aduenture your person so perilously yet in that case we coulde not maruayle so muche of your prompt audacitie. For where the daunger and the benefite that ensueth therof is equall, then the fruite is the greater when the matter succeadeth wel, and the comforte is the more, when the thinge chaunseth euill. There is no man, not onelye of vs that be your souldiours, but euen of suche as were your enemyes, hauynge anye vnderstandinge of your greatnes, that can suffer so base a towne and of so little fame, be bought with the price of your life, my harte shrinkes at the remembraunce of the thinge, whiche we but late did see with our eyes. I am amased to rehearse howe those vile handes were in readines to haue caried the spoyles of your inuincible person, if Fortune of her mercye hadde not preserued and deliuered you from their crueltye. So manye of vs as were notable to folowe you, were all traytours and forsakers of our

our Prince, and though it were a matter that laye not in our power, yet if it please you to note vs all with reproche, there is none that will refuse anye punishment in the purgation of the matter. Notwithstandyng we woulde require that you woulde spare vs for some other purpose, for we will gladly go whether soeuer ye will haue vs, we require warre be it neuer so obscure, and couet the battaile, though our fightynge shall wante fame. So that you will reserue your selfe to those hasardes whiche be mete for the greatnes of your estate. Howe lone doth glorye vanishe awaye, and become of no prayse, amonges suche enemies as be of no reputation: And what thing is there more vnworthye, then to consume the glorie ye haue gotten els where amonges them, where as your glorye can not appeare, whē Craterus hadde tolde his tale, Ptolome and the other spake to hym in like effecte. And required him all at once with weappynge eyes, that he woulde not fromt thence forth be any more so thirsty to winne prayse, but seynge he hadde gotte sufficient all readye, he shoulde content him selfe therwithall, and regarde his health and safegarde whereupon their vniuersall estate did depende. The kynge toke so gratefullye their louynge affection, that he familiarlye embraced euerye one of them, and after he had willed them to sitte, repetynge more depelye their former communication, he saied thus vnto them.

Alexander vnto his frendes.

My faiethfull louinge frendes and countreymen, I geue and render to you my hartye thankes, not onely for that ye preferr my safegard before your owne, but also for that sence the beginnyng of ỹ warres, ye haue not pretermitted any thinge, wherin your loue & beneuolence might be shewed towardes me. So ỹ I must

confesse that my lyfe was neuer so deare as it is now, because I desire longe to enioye you. You be desirous to offer your selues to death in my quarell, because you iudge that I haue deserued that benevolēce at your handes. But your imagination and myne is not after one sorte. You peraduenture do couet continuallye to enioye me, & to take of me continuall fruite. And I measure not my selfe by the obstinuatice of my time, but by the greatnes of my glorye. I myght haue bene contente wyth the riches my father lefte me, and with rest of my bodye haue loked for with the boundes of Macedon, an age obscure and without any fame. And yet I can not see that they whiche liue in slouthe and idelnes can assure them selfe of their owne destenye. For euen suche as esteme felicitie in long life, be oftentimes preuented with bitter death. But I whiche number not my yeres but my victories, haue liued longe, if I will weye the giftes of Fortune. For beginnynge mine Empire in Macedonia, I haue Greace in mine owne handes, I haue subdued Thrace and the Illirians, I raigne ouer the Triballes and the Medeans, possessynge all Asia that lye betwixt Hellespont and the redde Sea, and nowe am not farre from the ende of the worlde, the whiche I determined to visite, and to make open to men a newe nature, and a newe worlde. I passed out of Asia into Europe in the moment of an houre, and beynge but .xxviii. yeres olde, & hauyng raigned but nine, am become victorer of both regions.

Do you thinke it then mete ꝑ I should nowe ceasse from winning of that glorye, wherunto I haue onelye addict my selfe: No I wil neuer ceasse, but whersoeuer

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I ſhall haue occaſion to fyght, I ſhall thynke my ſelfe to be in the Theatre, where the whole worlde dothe beholde me. I will geue nobilitye and fame to places that be obſcure. And will laye open to all Nations thoſe countreys, that nature hath remoued furdeſt frō them. In doynge wherof it ſhall be gratefull for me to ende my lyfe, if Fortune will haue it ſo. I am come of that ſtocke that I ought to deſire many thinges before longe lyfe. I praye you to remembre that we be come into thoſe countreys where the name of a woman is muche celebrated for hir vertues. What cityes did Semiramis builde: what nations did ſhe ſubdue: and what great workes did ſhe accomplithe: We are not yet become equal to a woman in glory, and yet you woulde haue me to be ſatiſfied of laude. The Gods be fauourable vnto our purpoſe, for there remaine for vs yet greater thinges to do. And it is the next way to make thoſe countreys we haue not yet touched to become ours, if we eſteme nothing to be of ſmall valure, where as there is anye occaſion to winne glorye. Let it be your care onelye to preſerue me from cruill conſpiracie and treaſon of mine owne people, for then there be no aduentures of the warre ſhall put me in feare. Philippe was more ſure in the front of the battaile abroade, then in quiet tarians at home. He oftentimes auoyded the force of his enemies, but he coulde not eſchue the violēce of his owne ſubiectes. And if you cōſider the ende of other Kynges, you ſhall count more that haue bene ſlayne by their owne menne, then by anye forayne power. But bicauſe there is an occaſion nowe offered me to vtter the thing I haue longe conceaued in my minde. It ſhall be the greateſt fruite I can receyue of my actes, and of my trauayles, if my

trauailes, if my Mother Olympiades when she departeth this lyfe, might be consecrated to immortalitie. If she departe in my tyme, I wil do the thing my selfe. But if I shall be preuented by Death, remember you to perfourme that I haue determined. And therupon he dismissed his frendes from him, and continued manye dayes in the same place. Whiles these thinges were a doynge in India, the Greake souldiours that hadde lande and habitacion appoynted them at Catabactra, throughe a sedicion that chaunsed amonges them, rebelled againste Alexander. Notsomuche for anye hatred they bare hym, as for feare of punishemente. For they kylled diuers of their chiefe rulers, and assemblynge in force togethers, toke the castle of Bactria that was negligentlye kepte, and procured the Bactrians to rebell with them.

A rebellion of the Grekes whiche Alexander had planted at Catabactra.

Athenodorus was the chiefe amonges theim, who toke vpon hym the name of a kynge, not so muche for the desire of the kyngdome, as by auethoritye to make him selfe of power to conueye hym selfe and others home into his countrey. But one Byton of his owne nacion became his enemye, and conspirynge agaynste him, did bidde hym to a banquet, where he was slayne by one Borus Macerianus. The nexte daye folowynge Biton assembled the Greakes together, perswadinge theim that he slewe Athenodorus but in hys owne defence, whose purpose was to haue destroyed him. But there were some that perceiued his policye, and suspicion was spreade amonges the rest. So that the Greakes fell to armes of purpose to slea Byton. But suche as were chiefe mitigated the wrathe of the multitude, and contrary to his expectation was deliuered from that presente peryll. Yet he coulde not be con=

Athenodorus.

Byton.

so contented, but wythin a while after, conspired a-gainste them that saued his lyfe. whose falsehode knowen, they toke bothe hym and Borus, determinynge that Borus shoulde be put to death out of hande, and that Bycon shoulde ende hys lyfe by tormentes. As they were tormentinge of him, the Greake souldiours sodainelye in a furye (for what cause it is vncertayne) ranne to Armes, the noyse of whom beynge heard wyth them that had the charge of Bycon, did let him at libertye, fearynge that the rumoure hadde bene made for his deliuerye. He as he was naked came runninge amonges the Grekes, where as they were assembled, whose miserable estate so sodainelye chaunged their minds, ỳ thei willed him immediatly to be set at liberty.

By thys meanes Bicon beynge twise deliuered from death, returned into his countrey with the Grekes, leauynge the Colonye whereunto he was appointed by Alexander. These thinges were done in the cõ-kynes of Bactria and Scythia. In the meane season the kynge of the two nacions whyche we spake of before, sent an hundred Embassadours vnto Alexander, whiche beynge men of goodly personages, ridde in wagons semely appareled, hauing garmentes of linnen clothe embroydred with golde, and empaled with purple. They declared that the cause of their commynge was to yeld them selues, their citye, their countrey and their libertye, whiche thei had kepte inuiolatelye by so many ages to his wil & appointmẽt. Of which their submission the Gods (thei said) were auctours, & not any fear, for thei were cõtẽted to yeld thẽ selues, before thei had proued their power with him.

The kynge called a counsayle, & receiued thẽ vnder his protection, appointing to thẽ to pay such tribute as they before paied to the Arachosiãs. And besides to sẽd

two thousand fiue hundred horsemen to serue hym in his warres, all whiche thinges they performed obedientlye. This done he made a great feast, whereunto he inuited those Embassadours and his Lordes. He vsed therin sumptuous preparation, ordeinynge. C. beddes of golde to eate vpon, which beyng set a small distaunce one from another, were drawen about with curteynes garnished with golde and purple. In that feast there was shewed and sette forthe all the excesse and voluptuousnes, which either by long custome was vsed among the Persiãs, or by corruption of their old vsages taken vp amonges the Macedons, the vyces of both those nations beynge there mingled & myxed togethers. There was at that feast one Diorippus of Athens, a notable champion, by reason of his excellent force well knowen vnto the kynge, whome certayne enuiousse and malicious persones betwyxte earnest and pastyme dyd reproue that he was geuen to fatte hys bodye as an vnprofitable beaste. And when other went to the battaile, he would anoynt his body to oyle, and prepare him selfe to eate. Emonges other that vsed wordes of despyte agaynste hym, there was at the same feast, one Horatus a Macedon who in his dronkennes chalenged Diorippus, that if he were a man he shoulde fight the campe with him the nexte daye vpon liffe and death, where as the kynge shoulde iudge either him to be to rashe, or the other to much a dastard. Diorippus then laughyng to scorne the pride and arrogancie of the souldiour, accepted his proffer. The next day they were more earnest to go to the combate, then they were before in makynge of the chalenge, therfore when the kyng sawe them so bente, and that they would not leaue their purpose, he cõsented to their will.

Diorippus.

Horatus.

A combate.

There

There were greate nombre of men assembled at the combate, amonges whom there were many Grecians whiche fauoured Dioxippus parte. The Macedon came into the Lystes armed at all peaces, holdyng in his left hande an yron buckler and a speare, and in his right hande a casting launce, hauing his swoorde beesydes girte to his syde, was furnyshed as though he should haue fought with many men at onee. Dioxippus came furth anoynted with oyle, with a garlande vpon his head, and hauing a read cloke wrapt about his left arme, held in his right hande a great knottye cudgell. The diuersitie of their furnishement brought euery man in a wonderfull expectatiō. For they could not thinke it only a rashenes but a madnes, for Dioxippus that was naked, to matche with the other that was armed: The Macedon thinking to kil his aduersary before they should come to hand strippes, threwe at him his launce, whiche Dioxippus auoided with bēding of his body, a before that he could charge his pike, he leaped to him and with his cudgell brake thesame asondre. When the Macedon had lost both his weapōs, he beganne to drawe his swoorde, but Dioxippus preuented him wit a close, and taking both his keete from vnder him, threwe him to the earth and there plucking his swoorde from him, set his foote vpon his necke, and held vp his cudgell to haue striken out his braynes, if the kyng had not caused him to staye his hand. This triumphe ended with displeasure both vnto the Macedons, and vnto vnto Alexāder himselfe, specially because this thing was done in the Indians presence. he feared lest the valiauntnes of the Macedōs famed so muche in the worlde might thereby come into contēpt. Hereupon Alexāder grudging at Dioxippus bare his eares

eares open to the accusation of the enuyous. They within a fewe dayes after had caused a golden cuppe to be purposely conueyed out of the waye, whiche the ministers hauing imbesealed them selues, made complaynt vnto Alexander of the losse thereof. Oftymes men shewe lesse constauncy in countenaunce, then in the offence it selfe. For in their complaynt Diorippus perceyued by their lokes that they noted hym as the theefe, whiche he coulde not endure, but partyng out of the feaste after he had wrytten a letter to the kyng, he kylled hymselfe. Alexander was very sory for his death whiche he tooke for no token of repentaunce, but rather of indignacion. For afterwardes it appeared through the ouermuche reioysing of hys enemies, that he had bene falsely accused. The Embassadours of the Indians that were dismissed home, within a fewe dayes after returned agayne, presenting vnto Alexander thre. C. horses. M. and. xxx. wagons euery one drawen with foure horses, certain vestures of linnen cloth. M. Indian targetes, & an hundred talentes of white Iren, both lyons of a rare bygnes, and Tigres that were made tame, the skinnes of great Lyzardes, and the shelles of certain fishes. The kyng then commaunded Craterus to conduct his army along the ryuer whereupon he sayled, and he embarking suche as were wont to accompany him, with the streame passed into the boundes of the Mallians, and
Sabracans. from thence came vnto the Sabzacans, whiche was a nacion of great power, not ruled by kynges, but by a gouernement of the people. They had gathered together. vi. M. footemen and. vi. M. horsemen, and. v. C armed wagons, and had chosen thre capitaines that were approued men of warre. But when suche as inhabited

habited next vnto the ryuer (the bankes being full of villages) sawe all the ryuer so farre as they coulde viewe strowed with shippes, and the armour glistering of so many men of warre, they were amased with the straungenes of the sight, and thought that some army of the Goddes, or els Bacchus (whose name was famous amonges those nacions) had become amonges them. The crye of the men of warre with the clasking of the oers, and the straunge noyse of the mariners exhortyng one another, fylled full their fearfull eares. They ranne therfore amonges their countrey men whiche had assembled their force, declaring their madnes if they woulde contende with Goddes. For they sayde the shippes coulde not be nombred, that caried those inuincible people. With whiche wordes they put suche feare amonges the men of warre of their owne nacion, that they sent immediatly Embassadours to yelde them selues. When he had receyued assuraunce of them, he came the fourth daye into an other nacion, whiche durste no more withstande then the reste dyd, and there he buylded a cytie whiche he named Alexandria, and from thence entred into a countrey the inhabiters whereof be called Musycans. Musycans.
There he vnderstode by the accusacion of the Caramisidans that Destirioles (whom Alexander had appointed lieutenaunt amõges them) had ruled in exceslue pride and couetousnes, & therfore cõmaunded him to be put to death. And Orxates lieutenaũt of the Bactrians being also accused, was not only acquited, but also had a greater rule cõmitted vnto him. Whẽ he had subdued ỹ vtter partes of the Musicans he put a guarison in their cytie, and went from thence to another nacion of the Indians called Pzestians of whome Caramisidans. Portycanus kyng of the Prestyans.

Portica-

Porticanus was kyng whiche with a great powre got him selfe into a strong cittie whiche Alexander wanne the thirde daye after he beganne his siege. Upon the taking of the towne Porticanus fled into the castle and sent Embassadours to treate of peace. But before they were come to Alexanders presence, twoo towres of the Castle fell with a greate crashe, by the ruynes wherof the Macedons got into the castle, where Porticanus whiche with a fewe standing at defence, was slayne. The castle being rased and all that were with in sould as slaues. Alexander came into the boundes of Saba, where besydes many cyties that yelded vnto hym, he toke the strongest cytie of that countrey by force of a myne. It semed a monstrous thyng vnto the Indians, being ignorannt of suche policies of warre, for armed men to come furthe of the grounde in the myddes of their cytie, there appearyng before, no signe of any way vnder the earth. Clitarcus doth write that there were foure score thousand Indians slayne in that countrey, besydes many prisoners solde as slaues. The Musicanes in the meane tyme rebelled, for the oppression of whome Python was sent thether, who toke the prince of the nation prisoner, and brought hym to Alexander, whome he caused to be hanged on a crosse as the aucthour of the reuolt, and that done returned agayne to the ryuer where as he had willed his nauy to tary for hym. The fourth daye after passing downe the streme, he came to a towne at the entrey of the kyngdome of Samus. The kynge whereof had newely yelded hymselfe, but the cytezens dyd shutte their gates, and woulde not be at commaundement. Whose smalle nombre Alexander regarded

Python.

Saba.

Samus

garded so little that he sent fyue hundred Agrians vnto their gates to passe ouer them the skirmyshe, to the intent by retiryng litle and little they myght drawe them out of their strength, whiche were thought would folowe in the chase, when they should see their enemies flyeng. The Agrians did as it was appoynted them, for when they had onet prouoked their enemies, they turned their backes, and the Indians folowed them, till they came to the embushement where the kyng lay. Then the Agrians turned and the fight was renued agayne, so that of thre thousand Indians there were fyue hundred slaine and a thousand taken, the rest recouered agayne the cyte. But the ende of the victory was not so pleasaunt as it appeared in the begynnyng, for the Indians had so inuenemed their swordes, that suche as were hurte dyed of their woundes. And the physicions could not deuyse the cause of so straunge a death, for euen the verye light hurtes were vncurable. The Indians trusted that Alexander though his rashenes myght haue come within that daunger, whiche by shaunse fyghting amonges the thyckest, escaped vnhurte. Ptolomeus was lyghtly wounded vpon his lefte shoulder, who beyng in greater daunger, then the greatnes of his wounde shewed, caused the kynge to be carefull of hym. For he was nere of his kynne, and as some thought Philippe was his father. But it is certayne that his mother was Philippes concubyne, he was one that had the charge of the kynges persone, a valiaunt man of warre, and yet more famous in the facultes of peace. He was moderate both in his apparell and lyuing, liberall, easye to be spoken to, and without any suche Ptolomeus

heyght

height of mynde, as is woont to be in men dyscended of bloud royall, by reason of whiche qualities it is vncertaine whether he was better beloued with the kyng, or with the rest of men. That was the first occasion he had to proue how the mindes of men were affectionat towardes him, for euen in that daunger he was in, the Macedons beganne to deuyne of his fortune, whereunto afterwardes he ascended. They had no lesse care of Ptolomeus, then of the kyng him selfe, who vsed hym so familierly that when he was werted either with trauayll, or care of mynde, woulde sit for his solace with Ptolomeus, and at that time caused his bedd to be brought into his owne chambre. When Ptolomeus was layde there, he fell sodeinly into a profounde sleape, in the whiche it appeared vnto hym that a dragonne offred to hym an herbe out of his mouthe for the healing of his wounde, and takyng away of the venyme. When he awoked he declared his dreame and shewed both the colour and fashion of the herbe, affirmyng that he coulde knowe it, if any man could fynde it out. The same was sought by so many, that at length it was fpunde, and being put vpon the wounde, the paine streight wayes ceased, and the skarre within short space was closed. When the Indians were disappointed of the hope they had conceyued that waye, they yelded them selues and their Cytie.

Meres king of Pathalia

From thence Alexander went into the next countrey called Pathalia, the kyng wherof called Meres lefte the Cytie and fledde into the Mountaynes, so that Alexander toke the same and destroyed all the countrey, fyndyng bothe a wonderfull praye of Sheape, of Cattell, and of Corne.

There he toke Pilotes that knewe the Ryuer, and came

came vnto an Iland whiche stode in the myddes of the streame, he was compelled to remayne there the lenger, because the Pilotes beyng negligentlye beaten were escaped awaye. Perceyuyng therfore to seke out other, but when he coulde fynde none, there entred a vehement desyre into his head to visite the Occean Sea, and the ende of the worlde without any guyde, and so committed his owne lyfe, and the lyues of so many thousandes, to a ryuer that none of them vnknowe. They sayled as then ignorauntt of all the places they came vnto, either howe farre the Sea was distaunte from them, what nacions did inhabite the countreys there aboutes, whether the mouthe of the ryuer were nauigable for Galeis or no.

In all these thynges they were ledde by a blynde and doubtfull imagination, hauyng no comfort in their rashe enterpryse, but only their continuall felicitie. When they had gone forwardes foure hundred furlonges, the shyppemasters tolde the kynge that they felt the ayre of the Sea, whereby they knewe that the Occean was at hande. Therat he reioyced greatly and exhorted the mariners, that they would in all that they myght make waye with the ores to bryng hym to the syght of the ende of the worlde, which he had so long desired. Nowe (quod he) our glory is perfite, when our manhode is suche that nothyng can geue impediment vnto vs, nowe the worlde is come into our hādes without any further hasard of warre, or shedyng of bloud. Nowe sithe the boundes that nature hath wrought be so nere at hande, we shall shortly se thynges vnknowē sauing to the immortal gods. Yet notwithstanding he set certain a land to take foure of

the

the countrey men, by whome he trusted to haue knowen more certaintie of the truthe. When they serched out their cotagies at length founde out some that were hydden. Whiche beyng demaunded howe farre the sea was from them, they made answere that they neuer harde it named, but they sayde that within three dayes sayling they shoulde come vnto a place, where as a brakishe water did corrupt the freshe. By whiche wordes the mariners vnderstode that they ment the Sea, of the nature whereof the people were ignoraunt. Then the mariners rowed cheerefully, their desire growing euer the greater as they approched nere vnto the place, whiche they hoped to be the ende of their trauaill. The third daye they came where the sea and the ryuer ioyned together, mixing with a smale floud, their waters that were of a contrary nature. Then because the tyde was somwhat against them, they haled towardes an other Iland standing in the myddes of the ryuer, whiche beyng an easy place to lande at, the Macedons, ran about to seke victailes, in sure tie (as they thought) being ignoraunt of the chaunce that came vpon them. The thirde houre according to the ordinary course the floud came from the Sea, and with his force, did driue the streame backeward, whiche at the first beyng but stayed, was afterwardes so behemently repulsed, that it caused the water to returne backwarde with greater fury then any swifte streame is wont to renne. The common sort that knewe not the nature of the Occeā, thought the same to be a wōderfull matter and that it had bene a token sent to them of the goddes wrath, and whiles they were in that imagination, the Sea swelling more and more, ouerflowed the lande whiche they sawe before drye,

The nature of the occeā was vnknowen to the Macedons.

and

and as the water rolle the shipps mounted and al the nauy was dispersed here and there. Such as were vpō land were amased with the sodeinnes of the thing and ran frō al partes in great feare vnto their ships. But in a tumulte haste doth hurte & gyue the impediment. Some there were that went about to set their shipes forwardes, other forbad rowyng and remoued not at all. Other whiles they made haste awaye, and would not tary to take in their companye, moued vnaptly and could make no waie. Some when they sawe them pressle a shipboord in such thonges for feare of takyng into many, woulde receyue none at all. So that both multitude and smal number was a let vnto þ haste they made. The crye that some made in bidding men tary and the noise that other made willing them to go forwardes and there boyses that differed, and agreed not in one effect, toke away the vse both of their sight and hearing. The mariners could not help the matter, whose wordes in the tumult coulde not be harde, nor their commaundementes obserued amonges men in feare and out of order. The shippes therfore dashed one agaynst an other, the Ores crashed a sonder, and euery shippe either thurst forwards, or put backe an other. No man would haue iudged it to be one naye but rather two sondrey fighting a battell togither vpon the Sea. The poores did stycke agaynst the puppes, such as went before troubled them that came after, and the wordes of men in their wrath, came vnto strypes.

By that tyme the fludde had ouer flowne al the playnes there about, so that nothyng appeared aboue the water sauinge the hilles whyche seamed lyke lytle

Ilands whereunto many did swyme and left their shippes for feare. Whyles the nauye thus dispersed abrode, partlye stode a flote when they happned in anye valey and parte stycked vpon the grounde if they dyd hit vpon the flattes accordyng as the ground was that the water couered: lodeinly there came an other terrer greatter then the first. For when then the Sea began to ebbe, the water fell backe agayne into hys wonted course with so greate violence as it came forwardes, and restored the sight of the lande, whiche before was drowned as in a depe Sea.

The shippes then forsaken of the water fel vpon their sides and the feldes were strowen with broken bordes and wyth peaces of Oares. The souldiers durst not go furth to land, and yet were in feare to tarye a shipboord lokynge euer for some greater mischiefe to come, then that they sawe present or paste.

They could scarsly beleue that they sawe and sufferred which was shipwarck vpon the land, and the Sea within a riuer. And they thought no eand could come of hys myschiefe. For they knewe not that the fludde should shortly returne agayne and set their shippes aflote. And therefore they Imagyned to them selfes famyne and all extremities. The monsters also of the Sea that after the water was paste were left on drye land put them in great feare.

The nyght approched, and despayre brought the kynge into a great agonye.

Yet no care could ouercome his hart that was inuincible, but that he watched all night, and sent horsemen to the mouth of the riuer, to bring him word when the tyde came. He caused the shippes that were broken to

be

be amended, and suche as were ouerwhelmed to be hoised vp agayne, warning al men to laye awayte and be in redines agaynst the water should rise. When he had consumed all that night in watchinges and gyuing exhortacion to his men, streightwaies the horsemen returned amayne gallop, and the fludde folowed them, which mildly encreasing began to rise againe their shyppes, and when it had ones ouerflowne the bankes the holle naupe beganne to moue. Then al the coost rebounded with the vnmeasurable reioising that the souldiers and mariners made for there sauegarde whereof they were before in despaire. When they saw the daungier passe they enquered with wonder one of an other, by what reason ỹ sea could so sone after that maner go and come, and debated the nature of that element, whych one while disagred, and an other while was obedient and subiect to the time. The kyng coniecturing by the signes he had sene before, that after ỹ sonne risyng the tyde would serue hys purpose, to preuent the matter, at midnight with a fewe shippes he fleted downe the streame, and passing out at the mouth of the riuer, entred foure hundred furlongs into the sea where attayning the thing that he desired, made sacrifice to the goddes of the Sea which were worshipped in those countreyes, and returned agayne into hys naupe.

From thence the next day he returned backwardes agaynst the streame, and arriued at a salt lake, the nature wherof beynge vnknowne displeased many that rashely entered into the water, for ther bodies by and by became ful of scabbes, which disease take ỹ some, the contagyon therof infected many other. But they

founde that oyle was a remedye for the same. Alexander lyeng still wyth hys armye waityng for the spring time of ỹ yeare, sent Leonatus before by ỹ land which waie he thought to passe, for to digge welles because the countrey was verye drye and destitute of water. In the meane season he builded many Cytyes, and commaunded Nearchus and Onesicritus, that were moste Nearchus. Onesicritus expert of naual thinges, with his strongest shippes to passe into the Occeane and to go so farre forwards as they myght, to discerne for to vnderstand the nature of the sea, and willed them at theyr returne to land either A. to that ryuer, or ells within Euphrates. When the winter was well passed, he burned those shyppes whych he occupied not, and conueyed hys armye by land. After ỹ encampinges he came into the countrey of ỹ Arabytans, and from thence in nine dayes came amonges the Gedrosians, which being a free nation by a generall counsell had amonges them, yealded them selfes, of whom there was not any thynge demaunded sauinge only vittelles. Arabytans. Gedrosians.

The fyft day he came vnto a ryuer whych the countrey men cal Arabon beyond the which there laye a barein countrey greatly destitute of water through the which he passed, and entred amonges the Horitans. There he betoke the greater parte of hys armye to Ephestion and parted hys souldiers that were light armed wyth Ptolomeus and Leonatus and so wasted the countrey wt the armies at once, & toke great praies. Ptolomeus burned towardes the Sea, Leonatus vpon the other hand, and Alexander him selfe in the myddes. In that countrey he builded also a cytie, and brought men out of Arracholia to enhabite the same. From thence he came amonges the Indians, which lieng vpō the Sea Arabon. Horitans.

cooste

coold do inhabite a great countrey, that is wast and de-
sert. They vse no traffiek, enter course, nor conuersatiō
with any of their neighboures, but ꝑ desertnes of their
countrey haue made them sauage, being wild of there
owne nature. They ware long nailes that be neuer
cut, and longe here that is neuer clipped. They make
there howses of the shelles of fishes, and of other
thinges that the Sea caste vp. And being clad with
the skynnes of wilde beastes, eate fishe dryed with the
Sonne, and feade vpon such monsters as the Sea
caste vp on the lande. Heare the Macedons consumed
ther victelles, & first endured scarcetie, and afterwards
extreame honger, serching out in euery place the roo-
tes of palmes whiche is the only tree that groweth in
that countrey. But when that kind of nouisheméte
fayled them, they killed there cartage beastes, and ab-
stained not from there horses: whereby lacked beastes
to beare there bagage, they were enforced to consume
with fire, the spoyles of there enemyes, whyche had
caused them to trauayll into the vttermoste boundes
of the Orient. After their famine folowed a pestilence,
for the vnaccustumed nouisheméte of the vnholsome
meates they did eate with the trauayle of ther Iorney
and the care of mynd, spreade diseases amōges them,
in such sort that they could neither continue in a place
nor yet go forwardes without great distruction.

The famine that fell amonges the Macedons.

Honger oppressed them when they taried, and the
pestilence was more behement euer as they went for-
wardes. The fildes therefore were strowen ful of mē
that were half dead, and half aliue. And such as were
but finally sicke, were not hable to folowe tharmye, it
marched with such speade. For euery man thought to
further so much his owne sauegard, as by makynge

haſt he could get before his felowes. Such as fainted and could not folowe, defired both ſuch as they knewe and knewe not, to helpe them forwardes. But they had no beaſtes wherupō to ſet them, and the ſouldiers could ſcarſly bare their owne armour, which had the imminent myſchiefe that fell vpon other men, repreſented before there own eies. Wherfore whē they were often called vpon, they would not bouchſaue ones to loke backe, feare had ſo taken awaye all compaſſion from them.

Then they which were lefte behind, cryed vpon the goddes, and their king for helpe, alledgyng their religion that was in comen to them with ſuch as had forſaken them. But when they had cried long in vayne vnto their deaf eares through deſperacion they began to rage, and wiſhed the like eand to ther frendes and companions, that they thē ſelfes had. The king troubled bothe with ſorowe & vᵭ ſhame, did write to Phratapbernes ruler of the Parthiuyans to ſend to hym vpon Camelles, bittelles in vedines to be eaten, and certifyed the prynces of the countres therabout of hys neceſſitye, whych did not ſlack the tyme, but made prouiſion accordyng to hys wyll. Thus hys army deliuered only from famyne was brought wythin the boundes of the Godroſyans. And foraſmuch as ỳ ſame was a countrey fertyl of all thynges he thought good to ſtay there awhyle, wyth reſt to recouer agayne hys feble ſouldiers.

Godroſyans

Ther he receyued letteres frō Leonatus howe he had wonne the victorye of the Horitans, which encountred him with .viii. thouſand fotemen and .v. .C. horſemen and was aduertiſed alſo from Craterus howe he had taken and put in hold Ozynes and zariaſpes

Ozynes. zariaſpes.

noble

noble men of Perse that went about to rebell. Alexander also vnderstandynge that Menon was deade, gaue the charge of the countrey vnder of hym, and the rule vnto Syburcius and afterwardes went into Carmania. Alastes was gouernour of that nacion, who beyng suspected of innouacion whyles Alexander was in India, met hym on hys waye, who dissimulynge his treason entertetned him gentlie, and did to him his accustomed honour, till such tyme as he had better proufe of the matter that was layed agaynst him.

Syburcius.

Carmania.

Alastes.

When the princes of India had according to hys appointment sent out of all countreis vnder his Empire great plentye of horse and other beastes, bothe of cariage and of draught, he gaue cariage agayne to all men that wanted, and restored there armour to the former beutifulnes and excellency.

For they were come into a countrey rynning vpon Perce, which bothe was habundant of all thynges, and also brought quietly vnder hys subiection. He thought it then a tyme to counterfeit Bacchus in hys glorye and fame, whych the gotte amonges those nacions. Whether it were a trumphe of Bacchus first instituted, or a pastyme of him vsed in drunkennes Alexander was determyned to counterfeit it, hauynge hys mynde puffed vp aboue mans estate.

He commaunded therefore all the villagies, throughe the which he should passe to be strowne with flowres and garlandes, and cuppes wyth other great vesselles to be set full of wyne at the entreye of euerye house.

The Tryumphe that Alexander made in hys retorne out of Inde.

He caused wagons also to be made of suche largenes, that they might be hable to cary manie souldiers, atons and decking the same with precious furnimtees

The kynge went fyrste in order wyth hys frendes, and next to them the kings guard, wearyng vpon ther heddes garlādes of flowers, some playing vpon flutes and some vpon harpes. Euery one generally throughe tharmy decked his Chariot according to hys habilitye and substaunce, where as they geuen to banketynge, did hang ther riche armour about them. Alexander with such as he called to hys companye, was caried in a Chariot laden wyth Cuppes of gold and other golde vessell. He wyth his dronken armye, marched after this maner .vii. daies togither in ostentacion of the praye they had gotten. wherin they shewed such dissolutenes, that if one thousand of the subdued people, durst duringe the space of those .vii. daies haue geuen them the onset, they might haue taken them prisoners and led them away in triumphe. But fortune whiche hath apoynted both fame and estymacion to thinges, turned all this disordre of warre vnto his glorye. For both the age that was then, and the posterity that came after, meruailed and toke it for a wonder, that he durst go so dissolutely amonges those nations, not yet established vnder hys Empire, the barberous people reputing hys rashenes, for an assured confidence. But shedyng of blood ensued after this tryumphe. For prince Aspastes (that hath bene spoken of before) was commaunded to be put to death so that his excesse in voluptuousnes was no let vnto his cruelte, nor cruelte impediment to his voluptuousnes.

(.*.)

The tenth boke of

Quintus Curtius of the actes of Alexander the great kyng of Macedon.

(.i.)

About the same time, Cleandre, Sceptales, Agathon, & Eraction which by the kinges apoyntment had put Parmenio to deathe returned to hym, bryngyng wyth them .vi. thousand fotemen, and a thousand horsemen. There were many accusers that folowed them out of the prouince whereof they had the gouernaunce, whose behauour there was such, that the acceptable seruice they had done to Alexander in killing of Parmenio, coulde be no satisfaction for the multitude of the offence they had committed. They vsed such an vniuersall spoyle not abstaynyng from the Temples, nor from sacred thinges. The virgins also and great Ladies of the countrey, whom they had rauished complained of the lamentyng the shame they had sustened. They vsed so ther couetousnes and inordinat lust in there authorytye, that it caused the name of the Macedons to be hated amonges those nations. And yet amonges al the reste Cleanders offence was most horrible, which rauishyng a virgyn of noble bloode, gaue hyr to hys slaue to vse as his Concubine. The more part of Alexanders frendes were not so much offended with ther cruelrye and fowle actes whereof they were accused, as wyth the remembraunce of Parmenios deathe, whiche they kept in silence leste the reherfall thereof myght haue procured them fauour with the kynge reioyslng

reioyſing that the kinges wrath was fallen vpon the
miniſters of hys Ire, & that no powre nor auctoryte
gotten by euell meanes, could haue any longe conty-
nuans. Alexander hearing the cauſe, ſayd that that-
cuſers ouerſkipt ỹ greateſt offence, which was ỹ diſpaire
of hys ſaueguard. For if they had eyther hoped or be-
leaued, that he ſhould euer haue returned out of In-
dia, they durſte neuer haue committed any ſuche of-
kences. He commaunded therefore them to pryſon,
and put .vi. .C. ſouldiers to death, that had bene the
miniſters of there cruelty, and they alſo were exe-
cuted the ſame daye which Craterus had brought for
auctors of the rebellion out of perſi. Within a while
after Nearchus and Onelicritus which had bene com-
maunded by the king to ſerche the Oceane Sea, re-
turned vnto him declaring ſome thinges by reporte.
They ſhewed of an Iſlande not farre from the mouth
of Indus whyche habounded with golde, and had no
breed of horſes amonges them, wherefore the inhaby-
tors would giue a talet of gold for euery horſe brought
from the mayne land. They alſo told of great mon-
ſterous fyſches (wherof thoſe Seas were full) whyche
caried downe with the tide, would ſhewe there bodies
aboue the water, as bigge as a great ſhip, and folowe
ther nauye wyth a terrible noiſe. And when they dyued
vnderneth the water, they troubled the Seas
as it had bene in a ſhypwrack. Thes were thinges
they had ſene, the reſt they had receyued by reporte of
thinhabiters: as howe that the redde Sea toke hys
name of kinge Erithrus, and not of the couler of the
water. They ſhewed alſo of an other Iſland, not farre
from the mayne lande growing full of palme trees
Wher was a great wood, in the middes whereof ſtode
a piller where as king Erithrus was buried, with in-

A notable
Juſtice.

ſcripcion

ſcripcō of ſuch lettres as be vſed in ỳ countrey. They added beſides ỳ ſuch mariners as caried ỳ marchantes & the burdges of tharmie, through couetouſnes of the gold which had ben reported vnto them, lāded in ỳ Iland and were neuer ſeue after. There wordes moued Alexander much, and put in hym a great deſire, to get more certayne knowlege of thoſe partyes & therefore he cōmaūded them againe to tha Sea, willing ỳ they ſhould coſt the land tyll they come win ỳ riuer of Euphrates, & frō thence to come vp to Babilō againſt the ſtreame. The thinges were infinite ỳ he compaſſed in his head. For he determined after he had brought the Sea coaſt of ỳ Orient vnder his ſubiection to go out of Siria into Affrick, for ỳ enuytie he bare to the Carthagens. His purpoſe was frō thence to paſſe ouer the deſertes of Numidia towardes Gades, wher he vnderſtode by the ſame that Hercules had plāted his pilers, & ſo directing his iourney through Spaine (the which ỳ Greakes of the riuer Iberus call Iberia) to go ouer ỳ Alpes & ſo into Italie tyll he ſhould come to that part therof were the next paſſage was into Epyrus. For thys intent he gaue commaundement to hys officers in Meſopotamia that they ſhould cut downe tymber in the mount Lybanus and conuey the ſame to Tapſagas a Cytye in Syria. And ther to make galeis of ſuch greatnes, that euerye one of them myght be hable to carye. iui. Dres vpon abanke, and from thence he wylled them to be conuayed vnto Babylone. He ſent commaundement to the kynges of Cipres, to furniſhe them of Iren, hempe, and ſayles. Whyles thes thinges were in doing he receyued letteres from Pozus and Tariles, ſignifieng that Abpaſares was deade of a diſeaſe, and that Phelix hys lieutenaunt in thoſe parties wes ſlayne, and they putto death that

The enterpuſes that Alexander determined.

Tapſagas.

were

were the doers therof. Alexandr therefore in the place of Phelix apointed Endemon that was captaine of the Thracians and gaue Abyafares kingdome vnto hys sonne. From thence he came to Pasargadas beyng a countrey of the Persians, the Prynce wherof was called Orsynes which both in nobilytie and ryches, exceded all other men in those parties and conueyed hys pedigre frō Cirus that sometime was king of Perce. The rithes his predecessours left him was greate and he by a long continuaūce in his enheritaunce and auctorytie, had much encreased the same. He mett Alexāder comming thitherwardes and presented bothe hym and his freendes with gyftes of sondery sortes: which were a multitude of horses redye to be ridden vpon, Charyotes wrought with golde and siluer, precious stuf, excellent pearles, and precious stones, weighti vessel of gold, robes of purple, and foure thousand talents of coyned siluer. But that his liberalitie was occasion of hys death. For when he had presented al the kinges freendes with giftes aboue there desire, he honoured not with anye giftes at all Bagoas the Enuke, whom Alexāder specially fauoured of ꝑ vsage he had of him. There were therefore that gaue him admoniction how much Alexander estemed Bagoas. But he aunswered them: that hys custume was to honour the kynges freendes, and no harlottes. For that it was not the Persians maner to haue any in estimacion, which did effeminate them selfes with so shamefull an abuse.

Endemon.

Pasargadas

Orsynes.

Bagoas ther Enuik.

When hys wordes were reported to the Enuke he vsed the powre whiche he had gotten with dishoneste meanes, to the distruction of that noble and innocent man. For he did suborne certayne leud parsones of Orsynes countrey, to bringe in false accusacons a-

gaynste

gainst him, whyche he willed them to present at suche tyme as he should apoynt vnto them. In the meane season whensoeuer Bagoas got the kyng alone, he would fil his credulous eares wyth tales agaynst Orcynes, euer dissimulinge the cause of hys displeasure, lest therby he might lose the credite of his false report. The king had not Orcynes yet in suspect of such matter as afterwardes was laid against him, but began to grow wyth him out of estimacion. Hys accusacion was euer so secret, that he could neuer get knowledge of ỹ perill that was prively wrought against him. That importunat harlot in hys vile conuersacion had with the king, was myndfull euer of the malice he bare to Orcynes, whom he would not cease to bring in suspicion of couetousnes or of rebellion so ofte as he saw Alexander bent to vse him familierly. By that time the false accusacions were in readynes, which he had prepared to the distruccion of the innocent, whose fatall destynie ỹ did approch, could not be auoyded. It chaunced ỹ Alexander caused Cyrus tombe wherin his body was buried to be opened, pretending to vse certaine ceremonies for ỹ dead. But thinking in hys mynde ỹ his tombe had bene full of golde and siluer, wherof ther was a constant fame amonges the Persians.

Cyrus Tombe was opened by Alexander.

But when it was vewed there was no thynge found but a rotten target, two Scythian bowes and a sword. Alexander therefore caused the Coffyn wherein Cyrus body was laid, to be couered wyth the garment he was accustomed to weare, and set therupon a crowne of golde, meruaylinge that ther was no more sumptuousnes vsed in buryall of such a kyng, endued wyth so great riches, that late there but after the commen sort of men. When this thing was done Bagoas stode next vnto Alexander, who beheld him in the face

what an occasion Bagoas toke to accuse Orcynes.

and

and sayed: what maruail is it though the sepulchres of kinges be emptie, when lordes houses be not hable to receyue the goulde they haue taken out from thence. For my parte I neuer sawe this tombe before, but I haue hard Darius reporte, that there were .iii. M. talentes buried with Cirus. (Therof (qd he) proceded Orcynes liberalitie, in wynning your fauour by ỹ gift of the thinge, which he knewe he could not keape. When he had thus sturred vp Alexanders wrathe against Orcynes, he presented them whō he had suborned to accuse him. By whose reporte and by Bagoas surmised tales, Alexander was so encensed againste Orcynes, that he was put in prison, before he coulde suspect that he was accused. The Eunuke was not contented with the destruccion of this Innocent man, but at his death laied violent handes vpon him. Vnto whō Orcines saide: I haue hard that women in times past haue reigned, & borne great rule in Asia, but it is nowe a more straung thing, ỹ a gelding should haue thempire in hys handes. This was the ende of the moste noble man amonges the Persians, who was not onely an innocent in the matter, but such one as bare singuler affectiō vnto Alexander, and had shewed great liberalitie to him & his. At the same time Phradates whiche was suspected to haue gone aboute to make hym selfe king, was put to death. Alexander beganne then to be much enclyned to the shedyng of bloode, and to be credulous in hearing of euil report. Prosperitie is of such a force to chaunge a mans nature, wherin fewe men haue consideracion of vertue. Thus he which a lytle before would not condempne Lincestes Alexander when he was accused by two witnesses, that suffred dyuers of more meane estate to be acquited, though it

Alexander began to be enclined to the shedyng of blood.

grudged

grudged hys myndе, bycause they seamed not guilty to other men. And he whiche bestowed kingdomes vpon his ennemies, whome he had subdued: was in the ende soo muche altered from his former estimation that a gaynste his owne appetite, at the will of an harlot he would gyue kyngedomes to some, and take awaye the lyues from other. About the same time he receiued letters of thynges done in Europe, whereby he vnderstode that whiles he was in India, Zopirus hys Lieutenaunte in Thrace, had made a iourney againste the Getes, where by stormes and tempestes that sodeinly rysse vpon hym, he was destroyed and all hys armye. The Getes. when Sythes vnderstode the defeate of that armye he procured the Odrysians that were hys countreymē to reuolt. So that al Thrace was in maner losse thereby and Greate stode in no greate suretye. Sythes.

The writers of the actes of great Alexander make mencio in this place of Calanus an Indian that was verie famous in philosophye, which by the perswasion of kyng Taxiles folowed Alexander, and ended hys life after a straunge sort. when he had liued .lxxiii. yeares without any disease, at hys comming into Persia he felt a payne in hys belly, wherefore considering that the ende of hys life was come, leste that the a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, should be spotted with anie longe disease, or tormented with the multitude of medicines that physicions vse to minister, requyred Alexander that he myghte cause a fyer to be made, and to burne hym selfe in the same. The kyng began to dissuade him frō his purpose, thinkyng to haue brought him frō the doinge of so horrible an act, but when he perceiued with what stedfastnes and constancy he stode in his intent, and that there was no waye to reape hym any lenger in lyfe, He suffred a fyre to be made accordynge Calanus.

dyng to his will, where into Calanus did ryde on horſ-
back, makyng firſt his prayer to the goddes of his cõ-
trey, and takyng the Macedons by the handes, requi-
red them that they would ſpende that daye pleaſantly
in banketting with their kyng, whome within a while,
he ſhould ſee at Babylon. When he had ſpoken thoſe
wordes he went merely into the fyre, where as plieng
his body comly, kept ſtill theſame geſture & coũtenaũce
at his death, which he was wont to vſe. When the fire
flamed the trumpettes blewe, the men of warre ma-
king ſuch a ſhout as they accuſtomed going to the bat-
tall, whiche rebounded vp to the ſkye, & the Elephãtes
alſo made a terrible noyſe. Theſe be the thinges that
ſage writers do teſtifie of Calanus, whiche was a no-
table enſaumple of an inuincible mynde, conſtantly bent
to ſuffer any aduerſitie. From thence Alexander went
vnto Suſa, where as he toke to wife & lawfully maried
Statyra Darius eldeſt doughter. Whoſe yonger ſuſter
called Drypetis he gaue to wife vnto Epheſtion. And
beſtowed to the nõbre of .lxxx. virgins of the nobleſt of
all the nacions he had conquered, to the principal Ma-
cedons & to the chiefeſt of his frẽdes, becauſe he wold
not ſeme alone to begin ſo ſtrange a cuſtome. Theſe
mariages were celebrate after the Perſian maner, & a
princely feaſt prepared at the eſpouſels. Wherat there
were .ix. M. geſtes, to euery one of whome Alexander
gaue a cuppe of gold to ſacrifice withal. At the ſame time
the rulers of cities which Alexander had ſubdued and
builded ſent vnto him .xxx. M. yong ſouldiers & were
all of one age, & furniſhed with faire armour apt to do
any enterpriſe of the warre which he called Epigoni:
that is to ſaie his ſucceſſours. The Macedõs at their
comming ſemed to be ſomwhat apalled, whych were d
with

Alexander maried Statyra Darius doughter.

Drypetis.

with long warre, died often in assemblies to murmur & speake mutinous wordes against the king. For ꝓ cause he had prepared these souldiers to restraine ꝓ arrogãcy of other, & gaue to them great benefites. Harpalus to whome the king had cõmitted the charge of the treasure and reuenewes at Babylon, hearing of the actes that Alexãder had done in subduing the more part of ꝓ kynges of Iudia, & his successe to be so prosperous ꝓ nothing could withstand him. Knowing the insatiable desire ꝓ was in Alexander to visite farre countreis, & to encrease his glory thought it shuld be a hard matter for him to returne to Babylõ again. wherfore he gaue himself to delight & to lust, insuing many that were noble & free women, wallowing in al kind of voluptuousnes. Insomuch that he sent into Athẽs for a famous harlot called Pataonice, to whom he both gaue many great and princely gifres while she was aliue, and also after her death spent .xxx. talentes upon her tombe. Hauing in these & suche other like voluptuous vanities consumed a great part of the treasure, when he vnderstode Alexãder to be come out of Iudia, & to vse extreme iustice upon his officers that misused them of whõ they had rule, by reason he was pray to his own fowle conscience feared the like might come to himself. And therfore gathering together .v. M. talentes & .vi. M. mercenary souldiers, toke ꝓ way towardes Athens no mã willing to receiue him by the way. When he came to Tenaron (where as a great nombre of the mercenary Grekes which had bene discharged out of Asia were assembled) he left his souldiers there & went to Athens with his money: when he was come thether great nõbre of the citezens flocked about him, more for loue of his money then for his own sake, but specially the orators,

Harpalus.

Pataonice.

Tenaron.

tours, & suche as vsed to make their gaine by oracions and persuading of the people, who by small rewardes he easely corrupted to deked his cause with the people. But afterwardes at a generall assemble vpō the matter, he was commaunded to depart the cytie, and so returned againe amonges the Greke souldiers by whō he was slayne.

Sunium. Therfore with .xxx. shippes thei passed ouer to Sunill whiche is a pointe of the land in the territory of Athēs, from whence they determined to haue entred into Athens hauen. These thinges being knowen, Alexāder that was sore moued aswell againste the Athenians as against Harpalus, prepared a nauy to make warre in persone immediatly against thē. And as he was busied about ỹ matter, he vnderstode by secret letters both ỹ Harpalus had bene in Athens, & corrupted with money the chiefe of the cytie: And also that afterwardes by a counsel of the people, he was cōmaunded to depart frō thence, & as he returned amōges the Greke souldiers he was slayne by one of thē by treason. These newes greatly reioyced Alexander, wherby he had occasion to leaue of his iourney into Europe, but he sent cōmaundement to all the cities of Greece, that they shuld receyue againe all their banished men, except such only as had committed any murther vpon their owne countrey men. Although the Grekes knewe the same to be the breache of their liberties & their lawes, & the beginnig of their bondage, yet as men that durst not disobey his will, they called home their banished men, & restored to thē such of their goodes as did remaine. Only the Athenians, which euer defended obstinatly ỹ liberties of their comē wealth, & which had not bene accustomed to liue vnder ỹ obediēce of any king, but vnder ỹ lawes & customes of their countrey, wold not agre, ỹ such pledge

The death of Harpalus.

of

of men ſhuld liue amonges them, but did driue thē out of their boūdes, redy to ſuffre any thing, rather thē to receiue ſuch againe, as ſometime were the raſcall of al their cities, & then the refuſe of al the outlawes. The time was come that Alexander minded to diſmiſſe his olde ſouldiers, & ſende them into their countrey, but he willed firſt .xiii. M. fotemē & .ii. M. horſemē to be choſen out to remaine ſtill in Aſia, which he iudged might be kept with a ſmall army, becauſe he thought the guarriſons he had plāted in many places, & the cities which he had newly builded & filled with inhabiters, ſhuld be able to ſtay ſuch as wold attempt any rebellion. But before he would make any deuiſion of ſuch as ſhould depart, & remaine. He cauſed a proclamatiō to be made, that all ſouldiers ſhould declare their debtes, wherwith he perceiued many of them ſore burdened, & though their debte did riſe through their own diſordre & excelle, yet he was determined to diſcharge euery man. But the ſouldiers thinking it had bene but a deuiſe, to find out the prodigall frō the reſt delated the time & brought not in their declarations. The king perceiued ſhame to be the let therof & no diſobediēce, or ſelf wil. And therfore cauſed tables to be ſet vp throughout his cāpe, & .x. M talentes to be brought furth. Of all whiche treaſure when their debtes were payd accordyng to the iuſt declaration, there remayned no more but. CCCC. talētes. Wherby it appeared that thei whiche were the conquerours of ſo many riche nations, brought out of Aſia more glory then ſpoyle. But after it was once knowen that ſome ſhould be diſpached and ſome remayne ſtill, they thought the kynge would haue eſtablyſhed his kingdome perpetually in Aſia. Wherfore like madde men, and vnmyndfull of all diſciplyne of warre, fylled the campe full of ſeditious wordes, and came to the

Alexander paide al his ſouldiers debtes.

A mutine amonges the ſouldiers.

kyng more arrogantly, and with greater rygour then euer they did before, at with one voyce requiring to be discharged, shewyng furth the hornes of their heedes, and their faces disfigured with scarres, and herewithal could not be staied eyther by chastisement of their officers or by any reuerence of their kynge, but when he would haue spoken vnto them, they would not suffre hym to be heard, but disturbed his tale with their tumultuous crye, & violent thronge: protesting openly that they would neuer moue one foote forwardes to any place, except it were towardes their owne countrey. After a great space because they thought that Alexander would enclyne to their purpose, they kept silence, & stode in expectation what he would do. Then Alexander spake vnto them: What meaneth this sodain trouble of mynde, this so malypart and disaukfull libertie? I am afraied to speake vnto you, you haue so manifestly broken your obedience towardes me, I am now become a kyng at the appointment of my people, you haue neither lefte me the libertie, to knowe you, to exhorte you, nor to behold you. Beyng determined to sende some into their countrey before, and to kyng the reste with me, shortly after, I see them as well that shall go, crying and murmuring, as those that I appoint to come with me, what a matter is this? Their crie is al a like, notwithstanding that their cause is diuers. I could fayne knowe whether they complaine that departe, or they that tary still. When he had spoken those wordes, they cried all as it had bene with one mouth, that they complayned euery man. Then he said: truly it cannot be so, nor I cannot be persuaded, that you should all be greued for the cause ye declare beyng the cause toucheth not the moste parte of you, for I haue appointed more

Alexanders wordes vnto his soulidiers.

to

to departe, then to remaine still. There must nedes be some greater mischiefe then apeareth, that shuld turne you al from me. When was it euer sene that an whole army hath forsaken their kyng. The slaues ronne not from their maisters all at once, but there is alwayes a shame in some to leaue thē who the rest forsakes. But why do I forget that you be madde in your myndes: or why go I about to cure you, that be vncurable: I condempne from hencefurth all the good hope that euer I conceiued of you, & am determined to worke no more with you as wt my souldiers, seing ye wil not be mine, but with men vngrateful and vnmindfull of my goodnes. The cause of this your madnes, is eue the habōdaunce of your prosperitie, wherby you forget your old estate, frō the which ye be deliuered through my benefite. You are men worthy to haue spent your lyues in your former beggerie, seing you cā better beare aduersitie, then prosperous fortune behold you, which a while ago were tributaries to the Illirians, & the Persians, do now disdaine Asia, & the spoiles of so many nacios. You whiche vnder Philip went haulf naked, now cōtepne robes of purple. Your eyes cannot endure any lenger to behold the sight of gold & siluer. You desire againe your wodden dishes, your targettes made of wikers, & your swordes couered with rust. I receiued you in this simple estate, with. v. C. talentes in debte, when all my furnymētes exceded not in valure. lx. talentes. This was the foudacio of my actes, wherwith (without enuie be it spoken) I haue subdued the greatest part of the world. Are you wery of Asia, which haue ministred vnto you occasion of such glory, that by the greatnes of your actes ye be made equal vnto ỹ gods: do you al make such haste into Europe, to forsake me ỹ

am your kyng: the more parte of you shoulde haue lacked money to beare your charges there, if I of my beneuolens had not payde your debtes: Are you not ashamed that haue robbed all Asia, to beare the spoyles of so many nations withyn your belies, and now to returne home to your wyfes & childrē, vnto whom there be but few of you that are able to shewe any rewardes of your victory. For many of you shalbe compelled to gage your armour, if ye forsake this good hope, ye might receiue at my handes. These be the good men of warre that I shall want, which of all their riches haue nothing left them but only their cōcubines. The waye lieth open for your departure, get you hence quickly out of my syght. I with the Persians shall defende your backes when ye be gone. I will hold none of you deliuer myne eyes ye vngratefull countremē, of the sight I see of you. Shal your parētes & children receiue you with ioye, whē they shal see you returne without your kyng: Shall they couet to mete suche as be fugitiues, & forsakers of ther prince: I truly shal triūphe vpō your departure, & whersoeuer you shall be, I shall desire to be reuēged, honoring alwaies & preferring before you, those whiche ye haue left here with me. Now you shall knowe of what force an army is, that lacketh a kyng, and what moment doth consiste in me alone. When he had spoken those wordes he leped in a fury from the iudgement seate, and ranne into the throng of the armed men, whereas he toke with his owne handes suche as had mutined moste against hym. Of whome there were none that durst make resistaunce, delaucred xiii. to his guarde for to be saufly kept. Who woulde thinke that an assembly whiche a little before had spoken vnto their prince with suche fiersenes and rigour,

could

could haue bene so sodenly appalled for feare: Which seing there companions ledde to execution, durst not moue, nor make any attempt.

But the inordinate libertie they vsed before, & their seditious violence was then so stayed, that neuer one of them durst resiste, the king ronning amõges them, but were al astonied for feare, and stode like men amased, with doubtfull imaginatiõs loking what he would determine of the offenders.

Whether it were the reuerẽce they bare to his name, because the natiõs that liue vnder kinges, are wõt to honour thẽ as gods, or were it the maiestie of his persone, or els his own assured cõstancy executing his auctoritie with suche violence, that put them in feare: thei shewed a notable ensample of pacience. For they remained not only without slurre or motiõ at the executing of their companions, whõ they knew to be put to death in the night time, but also were more diligent in doing their duties then euer they were before, pretermitting nothing pertaining to obedience, & naturall affection towardes their prince. For the next day whẽ thei came to the courte, and were not suffred to entre, but all shotte out sauing the souldiers of Asia, they made a sorowfull crye and lamentacion whiche spred ouer al the campe, protesting that they would not liue, if the kyng continued still in his wrath. But he that was obstinat in all thinges that he had once conceiued in his head, commaunded all the Macedons to keape still their cãpe, and assembled the souldiers straungers together, to whome by an Interpretour he made this Oracion.

Alexanders Oracion to the straũge souldiers.

At suche tyme as I came firste out of Europe into Asia, my truste was to bringe vnder myne Empyre manye noble Nacions, and greate power of men,

wherin I was not deceaued. For besides that the fame reported you to be men of value, I haue founde in you one thinge more, whiche is an incomperable obedience, fidelitie, and affection towardes your prince. I thought voluptuousnes had ouerflowen all vertue amonges you, and ꝑ through your great felicitie, ye had bene drowned in pleasures. But I finde it otherwise, and perceyue that none obserue the discipline and order of the warres better then you do, nor execute the same with more actiuitie nor stoutenes. And beynge manfull and valeaunt menne, ye embrace fidelitie, no lesse then you do the rest. This thinge I do but nowe acknowledge, but I knewe it longe ago. Whiche was the cause that I chose you out of the youth of your nacions to be my souldiours, and did incorporate you amonges mine owne people, causinge you to vse the same habite, and the same armoure. But your obedience and patience towardes the authoritie appeareth muche better in you then in them. Therfore I haue ioyned to my selfe in mariage the daughter of Oratres that is a Persian, not disdayninge to beget children vpon a captiue. And afterwardes desiringe more aboundauntlye to encrease the issue of my bodye, I toke to wife the daughter of Darius, and was the authour that my neare frendes likewise shoulde beget children vpon captiues: mindynge by this holye couenãte to exclude the difference betwene the victoryers, and the vainquished. Wherfore you must nowe thinke that you be not souldiours vnto me adopted but more naturall. And that Asia and Europe is one kyngdome without any difference. I haue geuen vnto you armoure after the maner of the Macedons. I haue brought all straungnes and noueltie into a custome,

and

and nowe ye be both my countreymen and my ſouldiours, all thinges take vpon them one fourme and faſhion. I haue not thought it vnſemely for the Perſians to ſhadowe the cuſtomes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfeit ỹ Perſians, ſeynge thei ought to be vnder one lawe & cuſtome that ſhould liue vnder one kynge.

When he had made this oration, he committed the cuſtody of his perſon vnto the Perſians, he made them of his guarde and his officers of iuſtice, by whom when the Macedons whiche had geuen occaſion of this ſedicion were ledde bound vnto execution, one of them that was more auncient and of greater eſtimacion thē the reſt, ſpake after this maner.

Howe longe will you thus geue place vnto your wil, in executynge vs after the ſtraungers maner? Your ſouldiours and countreymen be drawen to execuſion by their owne priſoners before their cauſe be heard. If you haue iudged vs worthye of death, at leaſtwayes chaung the miniſters of your wrath. This was a good admoniſhmente, if he hadde bene patient to heare the trueth. But his wrath was growē into a woodnes, ſo that when he ſawe them whiche hadde the charge of the priſoners ſtaye a little at the matter, he cauſed the priſoners to be tumbled into the riuer, and there drowned. Notwithſtandynge the crueltye of this puniſhement, the ſouldiours were not ſturred to any ſedition, but repayred by rowtes vnto their capitaines, and vnto ſuche as were neare aboute the kynge, requirynge that if there yet remained anye infected with the ſame offence, that he ſhoulde commaunde them to be putte to death, proferynge their bodyes to be puniſhed and executed at his owne will.

After

After it was knowen that Liuetenauntes hips were geuen vnto the Perciãs, and that they were distributed into diuers orders, and suche names geuen vnto them as were vnto the Macedons, and that they were reiected wyth reproche, they coulde not then any lenger conteine theim selues, nor suffer the doloure they had conceyued in their hertes, but with a great throng prested to the courte, wearyng onely their nethermost garmentes, and leauynge their weapons without the gate in token of repentaunce. There wyth weapynge and all tokens of humilitie, they made request to be admitted to the kynges presence, & that he would vouchsafe to pardon their offence, pacifiynge his wrath with the deathe of so manye of theim as he shoulde thinke good, rather thẽ to suffer them to liue in such reproch: whyche excepte he woulde release, they protested they woulde neuer departe out of the place. When those thynges were declared vnto Alexander, he caused the courte gates to be opened, and came forthe amonges them. Wheras beholdynge their lamentation and repentaunce, their miserable behauour and affliction, he coulde not abstayne to weape longe tyme wyth theim, and in cõsideration of their modestie, forgaue thẽ their former offẽces. And after he had temperately told thẽ their faultes, and againe comforted them with gentle words, he discharged many frõ ỹ seruice of the warres, & sent thẽ home liberally rewarded: writing to Antipater his luetenant in Macedon, ỹ he should assigne thẽ the chiefe places in the Theatres, at triumphes, and open playes, wheras they shoulde sit with garlãdes on their heades, & he willed that their children after their deathes should enioye their fathers wages.

Alexander was reconsiled to his souldiours.

He appointed Craterus to be their ruler, to whõ in the place of Antipater he had committed the gouernement

of

of Macedon, Tessalie, and Thrace, sendynge for Antipater to repaire vnto him with a supplie of yong souldiers. Alexander had receiued letters before both frō hym, and Olympias his mother, wherby dissension appeared to be betwixt them. For his mother accused Antipater that he wente about to make him selfe kyng. And Antipater did write howe Olympias did manye thinges otherwise then it did become her. Antipater did take his callynge awaye so greuously in his hart, that he conspired therupon to poyson Alexander, who hauynge accomplished the matters that before be mēcioned, went to Echatan that standeth in Media, to set order in the necessarie affaires of his Empire, and there ordeyned solempne triumphes and feasting. It chaunsed Ephestion whom the kynge specially loued, and vsed in place of a brother, about the same time to dye of a feuer. Whose death Alexander toke more sorowfullye then can well be credited, committynge in his doloure manie thinges that were vnseaminge for the maiestye of a Prince. He commaunded Ephestions physition to be hanged, as though he had died through his negligence. He laye embracynge of the dead bodye and coulde hardlye be taken awaye by his frendes, but continued his sorowe night and daye. There be manye other thinges written in that behalfe, which be scarcelye credible. But it is certayne that he commaunded sacrifice to be made vnto him as vnto a God, and consumed in his burial and making of his tombe about xii. M. talentes. As he was returninge to Babilon, the Caldian Prophetes met him on the waye, exhortynge him that he shoulde not enter into the citye, for that it was signified, that if he wente thether at that time, he should be in great peryll of his life. Notwithstan-

Olympias Alexāders mother.

The death of Ephestō

dyng

ding he regarded not their admonishmentes, but went forwardes in his iourney accordynge as he hadde appoynted. For he vnderstode that Embassadours were come thither from all Regions tarynge for his comming. The terrour of his name was so spredde throughe the worlde, that all nacions shewed an obsequiousnes towardes him, as though he had bene appoynted to be their kynge. That caused him to make haste towardes Babylon, to kepe there as it were a Parliamente of the whole worlde. When he was come thither, he receiued the Embassadours gentlye, and afterwardes dispatched them home agayne. There was aboute the same tyme a banquet prepared at one Thessalus Medius house. whereunto the kynge beinge bidden, came thither wyth such as were appoynted to kepe him companye. But he had not so sone dronke of Hercules cuppe, but that he gaue a grunte as thoughe he had bene striken to the harte. And beynge caried out of the feast halfe dead, was so tormented wyth payne that he required a swerde to haue killed him selfe. His frendes did publyshe abroade dronkennes to be the cause of his disease, but in verye dede it was prepensed treason the infamye wherof the power of his successours did oppresse. The poyson prepared longe before was deliuered by Antipater vnto Cassander his sone, whiche wyth his brethren Philippe, and Iolla, were wonte to serue the kynge at meate. He was warned that he shoulde not committe the same poyson to anye person except it were to Thessalus or to his brethren. Philippe therfore and Iollas, whiche were wonte to take the saye of the kynge cuppes, hauyng the poyson readye in colde water, mixed it with the wine, after they had tasted it. When the fourth daye was come

Thessalus Medius

Alexander was poysoned

the

the souldiours partly for that they suspected he hadde bene dead, and partlye because they couldē not endure to wante longe his syght, came forwardlye vnto the courte, desiryng to see the kynge, whiche by his commaundemēt were admitted vnto his presence, by such as had the charge of his person.

When they beheld him lyynge in that case, they made great sorowe and lamentacion, for he semed not to them to be the same their kynge, whom they were wont to see, but rather a deads coarse. If their griefe were great, the sorowe of them that stode nyere to the bedde appeared muche more, whom when Alexander beheld lamentyng after that sorte, he saied vnto them. When I shall departe, you shall finde a kynge worthye for suche men as you be. It is a thyng incredible howe that he dissymuled the tyme, the souldiours of his whole armye came to visit hym, he neuer altered countenaunce nor gesture, but continued in that kinde of presence he gaue vnto the firste, vnto the laste man. When he hadde dismissed the multitude, as thoughe he had bene discharged of al the debt of life, he laye downe againe to rest his weake body, & his boye beginnyng to fayle him, comaunded his frendes to come neare aboute him, and then takinge his ryng from his finger, deliuered it to Perdicas, and gaue therwith a commaundemente that his bodye shoulde be conueyed to Hammon. They demaunded to whom he would leaue his kingdome. He saide: to the worthiest. By whiche wordes it appeared that he foulare the contention that was like to ensue vpon his death. Perdicas moreouer demaunded of him where he would haue diuine honours done vnto him. In such time (quod he) as you shall

shall kinde your selfes in felicitie. These were the laste wordes Alexander spake, and shortelye after he died. Immediatlye after his death, the courte was full of howlynge, lamentynge, and sorowe makynge, and by and by as it hadde bene in a desserte, or a place solitary, all thynges were whiste, and a sorowfull silence was spredde ouer all, euerye man beynge conuerted into imagination, what shoulde become of the matter. The yonge menne of the nobilitye that were accustomed aboute Alexanders person, coulde not beare the greatnes of their doloure, nor kepe them selfes within compasse of the courte, but ranne aboute as menne out of their wyttes, wherby the cittye was filled with heauines and complainte, and no kinde of lamentation pretermitted, that sorow is wont to minister in such a case. Suche therfore as were without the courte, vnderstandynge this matter, as well Macedones as other came rammynge thither, wheras the Conquerours from the conquered, nor the Victorers from the vanquished coulde not be discerned, the sorowe was so indifferent to thē al. The Persians called vpō their naturall and mercifull Lorde, and the Macedons made inuocation to him, that was so valeaunte and gracious a kynge, and thus there was a certaine contencion of sorow amōges thē. Men did not vse their only wordes of griefe and heauines, but also of grudge and indignation, that so yonge a prince beynge in the flower of his age, and of his fortunate successe, shoulde by the enuy of the Goddes, be so taken out of this worlde. They called to remembraūce what a cherefulnes they had alwaies sene in his countenaunce, ether when he led them to the battel, when he besieged, or assaulted any citie, or when he would geue any commendacion to

The sorow that was made vpon Alexanders death.

the

the worthye in anye assemble. Then the Macedons repented that euer they hadde denied him deuine honours, confessyng them selues bothe wicked and vngratefull for depriuynge him of anye name wherof he was worthye. And when they had continued long in the veneration and delite of him that was dead, then they began to pitye their owne case, whiche comming out of Macedon were passed the riuer of Euphrates, amonges the middes of their enemies, þ vnwillingly receiued their new gouernement. They saw them selues left destitute, & the Empire without any certaine heyre, for wãt of whõ euery one wold go about to draw the power of the state vnto his priuate behoue. And thẽ they began to conceiue and forsee in their mindes, the ciuill warres that did ensue, & that they shoulde be enforced to shede their bloude against not for the cõquest of Asia, but for the title of some such one þ would go about to make him selfe king: whereby their old feartes shoulde breake out againe into new woundes, & that such as by reason of their age had bene discharged from the warres by their noble & righteous king, should now be enforced to spend their liues in þ quarell of some such one as was but his souldier. Whiles thei were in these imaginacions, the night came on, & enterased their terroure. The men of warre watched in harnayes. & the Babilonians loked ouer þ walles; pepyng out frõ the toppes of their houses, to spye some certaintye how the matter wẽt. There was none þ durst kyndle any light. And bicause þ vse of þ ete did fail, thei laied their eares to heare the rumours & wordes that were spoken. And many times thei wer afraid vpõ no cause was, & whẽ thei met together in the narow stretes or darke lanes, thei would be amased, & suspect ethe other as enemies

The

The Persians after their accustumed maner clypped there heare and with ther wyues and children lamented the death of Alexander in mourning garmentes, with vnfaynes affection, not as a conqueror and one that lately had bene there enemye, but as there right wyse and naturall kyng. For they being accustumed to lyue vnder a kyng could think no man more worthy then he, to rule ouer them. Thys sorowe was not only contened within the walles of the citie but streight wayes sped ouer all the countrey ther aboutes. And the fame of so great a mischefe flyenge through oute Asia, brought some tydinges therof vnto Darius mother. She at the fyrste reporte tare a sunder the garment she ware and put on mourning apparell, she pulled her heare, and fel downe groueling vpon the earth. One of her neces sat by her mornyng the death of Ephestion whom she had maried, and in an vnnaturall bewnes, bewayled the cause of her owne sorowe. But Sysigambis alone sustayned all there miseries, and bewayled bothe her owne case and her neces. Her frethe sorowe causing her to call to mynde thinges paste, A man would haue iudged by her behauour that Darius had bene newly slayne, and that she had celebrated the funeralles of bothe her sonnes togither. She did not only lament the deade, but sorowed also for the lyuing. Who shall nowe (qd she) take care of this yong woman? or who can be like vnto Alexander nowe we be taken prisoners againe, nowe we be newly fallen from our dignitie and estate.

The behauour of Darius mother vpon the death of Alexander.

After Darius death we found one to defend vs. But nowe since Alexander is gone, who wyll haue respect of vs? Amongs she called to mind, how Ochus the cruell kinge had slayne her father and foure sone

of her

of her brethren on one daye, and that of seuen children borne of his bodye, there was but one of theim lefte a-liue. She sawe that fortune had aduaunced Darius and cauled him to florysshe for a tyme, to the entente he myght ende his life by greater cruelty. Finally she was so ouercome with sorowe, that she couered her head, turning her selfe from her niece and nephew that sate at her fete, and abstayninge both fro meate & fro beholdynge of the light, ended her life the fift daye after she was determined to dye. This her death was a great argument of the clemencye Alexander hadde shewed towardes her, and of the iustice towardes all the captyues, seyng that after Darius death she could abide to liue, but after Alexanders departure, she was ashamed to continue anylenger.

A discourse of Alexanders vices and his vertues.

Considerynge Alexander rightwisely, we must impute all his vertues to his owne nature, and his vices either to hys youth, or to the greatnes of his fortune. There was in him an incredible force of courage, and an exceadynge sufferaunce of trauaile. He was endued with manhode excellinge, not onely amonges kynges, but also amonges such as had neither vertue nor qualitye. He was of that liberalitye that oftentymes he gaue greater thinges then the receuers could haue asked of God. The multitude of kyngdomes that he gaue in gift, and restored to such from whom he had taken theim by force, was a token of his clemencye towardes them that he subdued. He shewed a perpetuall contempte of deathe, the feare wherof doth amase other men. And as there was in him a greater desire of glorye and worldely prayse then reason woulde beare: so was it intollerable in so yong a man, enterpraysynge so great actes. The reuerence and affection he bare

towardes

towardes his parentes, appeared in that he purposed to consecrate his mother Olimpias to immortalitie, and that he so sore reuenged Philips death. How gentle and familiar was he towardes his frēdes, and how benuolence towarde his souldiours. He had a wisedome equall to the greatnes of his harte, and suche a policie and forecast, as so yong yeres were scarsely able to receiue. A measure in immoderate pleasures. And the vse of his lust lesse then nature desiered, vsing no pleasure but that was lawefull: these were wonderfull greate giftes and vertues.

But in that he compared him selfe to the Gods, coueted diuine honours, and beleued the Oracles that perswaded such thinges, that he was offended wt thē that woulde not worship him, and geuen more vehemently to wrath then was expedient. That he altered his habite and apparell into the fashion of straungers, & counterfaited the custome of them he had subdued, and despised before his victorye: were vices to be attributed to the greatnes of fortune. As the heate of youthe stirred him to anger, and to the desyre of drinkyng: so age might haue mitigated againe those faultes. Notwithstandynge it muste nedes be confessed, that though he preuailed muche by his vertue, yet ought he to impute more vnto his fortune, which only of al mortal men, he had in his owne power. How ofte did she deliuer him from the poynte of death: How often did she defende him wyth perpetuall felicitie, when he hadde rashelye brought him selfe in peryll: And when she poynted an ende to his glorye, she euen then was contente to finyshe his life, stayinge his fatall destenye tyll he had subdued the Orient, visited the Occean Sea, and fulfilled all that mans mortalitie was able to performe.

To this so greate a kynge and noble conqueroure, a suc-

a ſucceſſour was loked for: But the matter was of ouermuch importaūce for any one mā to take vpō him. Alexanders name and renowne was ſo great amonges all Nacions, and they were counted moſte noble that might be partakers of his proſperous fortune, thoughe the portion was neuer ſo ſmall. But to returne agayne to Babilon from whence this digreſſion hath bene made: They whiche had the guarde and cuſtodie of Alexanders perſone, called into the courte ſuche as hadde bene his chiefe frendes and captaines of the men of warre, after whom there folowed a great multitude of Souldiours, deſirynge to knowe who ſhoulde be ſucceſſoure vnto Alexander. The thronge of the ſouldiours was ſuche, that manye of the captaynes were excluded, and coulde not enter into the courte. A Proclamation therfore was made whereby all men were forbidden to enter, except ſuche as were called by name. But becauſe their commaundement ſemed to want authoritie, it was little regarded, & the multitude at the firſt began to make a greuous ſorow & lamentation. But ſtraightwaies the deſire they had to vnderſtande the ſucceſſe of the matter, ſtopped their lamētatiō, & made ſilēce. Thē Perdicas brought forth in ſight of al the people ỹ kinges chayre of eſtate, wherin Alexanders Diademe, his veſtures regall, & hys armor was laide. Emōges ỹ which ornamētes, Perdicas alſo laide downe ỹ kinges ſignet, deliuered to him the day before, at the ſight wherof they began to wepe, and to renue againe their ſorowe.

The aſſēble after the death of Alexander.

Then ſaied Perdicas: Lo here is the ryng wherwith he was wōt to ſeale ſuch thinges as perteined to the forces of his Empire, & as he deliuered the ſame to me, I ſo do reſtore it againe to you. And although no aduerſitye can be deuiſed by the Goddes (were they

Perdicas wordes.

neuer so muche offended) comperable to this. Yet consideringe ỹ greatnes of the actes whyche he hath done, we muste thinke that the Goddes sent suche a man as he was to raigne in the worlde, whose tyme beyng expired that was appointed, they haue called him againe to the place from whence he came. For so muche therefore as none other thinge remaine of hym amonges vs, but onely that whiche is alwayes wont to be remoued from immortalitie: let vs perfourme the due pertayninge bothe to his bodye, and to his name, remembringe in what citye we be, amonges what kynde of people, and what a kynge, and what maner of gouernoure we haue loste. We muste debate and deuise how to maintaine our conquest amonges them of whom it is gotten. For the doynge wherof, it is nedefull for vs. to haue an heade. But whether the same shall be one, or manye, that consisteth in you. You are not ignorant that a multitude of men of warre wythout an heade, is a body without any life. Syxe monethes be now passed sence Roxane was cõceiued wyth chylde, we desire of God that she maye bringe forthe a male, whiche maye enioye this kyngdome, when he cometh to age. In the meane season appointe you, of whom ye wyll be gouerned. When Perdicas had spokẽ these wordes, Nearchus rose vp and saied: There is no man can denye but that it were mete for Alexanders succession to cõtinue in the bloude royall, but to loke for a kynge that is not yet borne, to passe ouer one that is in his being already, is nether expedient for such men as the Macedons be, nor yet dothe serue the necessitie of the time.

Nearchus wordes.

There is a sonne whiche Alexander begot by Barsines, what should let why ỹ diademe may not be set on his heade? Nearchus tale was acceptable to no man.

Barsynes

Therfore

therfore the ſouldiers accordyng to their cuſtome claſhed the ſpeares againſt the targets, & continued makinge of a noyſe. And when he woulde not forſake his opinion, but obſtinately maintened the ſame, the matter had almoſt bredde a ſedition, which thing perceiued by Ptolomeus, he ſpake after this maner.

Ptolomeus wordes

Neither the ſonne of Roxane nor Barſines, is an iſſue mete to raigne ouer the Macedons, whoſe names we ſhold be aſhamed to rehearſe within Europe, their mothers beinge captiue. Haue we ſubdued the Perſians to that ende to become ſubiect to ſuche as be deſcended of them? That was the thinge which Darius and Zerxes beynge kynges of Perſe wrought for in vain, with ſo many mileons of men of warre, and with ſo many nauies. This therfore is my opinion, that Alexanders chaire of eſtate be ſet in the middes of the court, and that all ſuch as were wont to be of counſail with him, ſhal aſſemble together, ſo often as any matter require to be cõſulted vpon. And that the captaines and rulers of the armye ſhalbe obedient to that order, whereunto the greater number do aſſent. There were ſome agreed wyth Ptolomeus, but fewe with Perdicas. Then Ariſtonus ſpake in this wiſe. When Alexander was conſulted withall, to whom he would leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthieſt to be choſẽ. Whõ iudged he worthieſt but Perdicas, to whom he deliuered his ryngꝫ. This was not done at ſuch time as Alexander was alone, but when al his frendes were preſente, he did caſte his eyes amonges them, and at length choſe out one to whom he deliuered it. Wherfore I thinke it ryght that the kingdome be committed vnto Perdicas.

Ariſtonus wordes.

There were many that agreed to his opinion, so that the assemble cried to Perdicas that he shoulde come forthe amonges them, and take vp the kynges signet. But he stayed betwene ambition and shamefastnes, thinkynge that the more modestye he vsed in gettynge the thinge whiche he coueted, they woulde be so muche the more earnest to profer it hym. When he had stande a good while at a staye, doubtyng what to do, at length he drewe backe, and stode behind them which sate next vnto hym.

Weleagers wordes.

When Weleager that was one of the capitaynes, sawe the staye that Perdicas made, toke courage thereupon, and saide: Neither the Goddes will permit, nor men wil suffer, that Alexanders estate, and the weight of so great an empire should rest vpon his shoulders. I will not rehearse how there be many men more noble thē he is, and of greater worthines, against whose wyll no suche thinge may be suffred to be done. There is no difference whether ye make Perdicas kynge, or the sonne of Roxane, whēsoeuer he shalbe borne. Seynge Pedicas goeth aboute to make him selfe kynge, vnder pretence to be gouernoure to the other. That is the cause why no kinge can please hym but such one as is not yet borne. And in suche an haste as all we make to haue a kynge, whyche haste is bothe mete and necessary for the preseruation of our estate. He onelye doth waite for the expirynge of tymes, and monethes, imaginynge that she shoulde brynge forthe a manne chylde, whiche I thinke ye doubte not but he is readye to counterfayte and exchaunge, if nede be. If it were so in very dede that Alexāder had appointed him to be our king, I am of opinion that the same thing onely of all the thinges he hath commaunded, ought not to be

per-

perfourmed and kepte. Why do not you runne therfore to spoyle the treasure seyng that this kynde of riches, the people ought to enherite. When he hadde spoken those wordes, he brake through the prease of the armed men, and they whiche gaue him waye, folowed him to the spoyle, whereof he had made mention. The gredines of the treasure caused a greate bande of armed men to flocke about Meleager, and the assemble began to fall to discorde and sedition, whiche had growen to greater inconuenience if a meane souldier who verye fewe did knowe, had not stepped forthe, and spoken to the multitude. What nede we (quod he) to fall to force or ciuill warre, seyng we haue a kynge alredye whiche you seke to finde. The same is Iridens Philips sonne, brother to Alexander that lately was our kynge, borne and brought vp in the same religion, and ceremonies that we do vse, who beyng the onelye heyre, I maruayle by what deseruynge of his he is ouerslipped or what he hath done, why he shoulde not enioye his ryght, descended vnto hym by the vniuersall lawe of the worlde. If you seke one to be comparable to Alexander, you shall neuer fynde hym. If you will haue suche one as shall approche nerest vnto him, this is onelye he. When these wordes were heard amonges the multitude, they kept silence at the firste, as if they had bene commaunded so to do, but afterwardes they cryed with one voyce, that Iridens should be called, and that they were worthy deathe whiche made any assemble without him. Then Python all besprinkeled with teares, began to speake. Nowe I perceyue (quod he) Alexanders case to be moste miserable, seyng he is defrauded of ỹ frute with such as wer his souldiers & subiects shold bringforth at such a time as this is

The wordes of a souldiour in the assemble.

Iridens

Pythons wordes.

For you hauynge respect onelye to the name and memory of your kynge, ye be vtterly blinde in the rest of thynges. His wordes tended directlye to the reproche of Aridens that was elected kynge, but the tale procured more hatred to the speaker, then contempte to hym against whom they were mente. For the compassion they had of Aridens, caused them the more to fauoure his cause, and therfore declarred by an obstinate crye, that they wouldе not suffer any to reigne ouer them, but him onely which was borne to that possibilitie, and still called for Aridens to come forthe amonges them. Wherupon Meleager for the malice and enuy he bare vnto Perdicas, toke an occasion boldlye to bring him into the assemble, whō the multitude saluted as kinge, and called him Philippe. This was the voyce of the people, but the nobilitie was of an other mind, of whō Python toke vpon him to put Perdicas deuise in execution, and appoynted Perdicas and Leonatus (whiche were descended of the bloude royall) to be gouernours of the sonne whiche shoulde be borne of Roxane: addinge moreouer that Craterus and Antipater shoulde haue the rule within Europe. And vpon this they sware men to be obedient to Alexanders issue.

Aridens was chosen kyng.

Meleager then doubting not without cause, that some euill might come to him, departed with suche as were of his faction, but he returned immediatly againe, and brought Philip with him into the court, cryng out to the multitude for the assistyng of the cōmune welth, in aydynge of the newe kynge, whiche a little before they had elected: and wylled them to make an experimente of his actiuitie, persuadinge that he was the metest to rule ouer thē, that was ỹ issue of Philip, that had bothe a kinge to his father, and a kinge to his brother.

There

There is no profoũd sea, so stormy nor tẽpestuous, that raiseth vp so many sourges & waues, as a multitude doth mocions and alteracions, when they haue gotten the bridle of a newe libertie, not likely long to cõtinue. There wanted not some that gaue their consent to Perdicas, but more agreed to make Philip king. They could neither agre nor disagre, to any thyng long time together. One while repenting them of that they had determined, and streightwaies forthought thẽ of that repentaunce. Yet finally they were enclyned to preferre the kinges bloud. Ardens was put in such feare with the auctoritie of the nobilite, that he departed out of the assemble, after whose departure, the fauour of the souldiers was rather silent, then cessed towardes him. So that at length he was called agayne, and put vpon him his brothers vesture regal, whiche laye in the chayre. And Meleager put on his armour folowing as a guarde to the persone of the newe king. The souldiers of the Phalanx classhed their speares to their targettes, threatening to shed their bloud, whiche coueted the kingdome that pertained not to them. They reioyced that the force of the Empire should still continue in the same familie, the right of whose enheritaunce comming of the bloud royall they shewed themselues redy alwayes to defende. For by reason they were accustomed to honour the name of their kyng, and to haue it in veneracion: they thought no man worthy for it, but suche one as came therunto by discent of bloud. Perdicas therfore was afraied, and with. vi. hundred men that were of an approued manhode, kept the lodging wheras the body of Alexander lay. Ptolomeus ioyned him selfe vnto hym, and the bande of the younge men that were about the kynges persone. But so many

The inconstancy of a multitude.

thousand of armed men as were vpon the other side, did easely breake in vpon them. Amonges whome the king was present, with a great bande for the guard about his persone, wherof Meleager was chief. Perdicas therfore in a greate furye, called them to his parte which would defende Alexãders body, but they which brake in vpon thẽ threw dartes at him afarre of, wherby many were hurt. At the last the auncient men plucked of their head peces the better to be knowen, & desired them whiche were with perdicas to abstayne from ciuill warre, & geue place to the kyng & to the greater parte. Whereupon Perdicas was the firste that layde downe his weapon, & the rest did in like maner. Meleager then persuaded thẽ that they should not depart, but remayne still about the dead corse, but he iudging that to be a deceite and a meane to entrap hym, fled to the further side of Euphrates lieng ouer against the court. Then the horsemen whiche consisted chiefly of the nobilitie, flocked about Perdicas, and Leonatus, whiche thought good to departe out of the cytie, and take the fieldes, but because Perdicas was not without hope, that the footemen woulde haue taken his parte, remained stil within the cytie, lest he myght seme to be the cause that the horsemen should deuide themselues from the rest of the armye. Meleager ceassed not to beate in the kynges head, that he could not establyshe himselfe surely in his estate, but by the death of Perdicas, whose ambicious mynde desirous of innouation, was (he sayde) to be preuented in time. Willyng the kyng to remembre what Perdicas had deserued at his hãdes, and that no man could be faithfull to him, whom he feared. The kyng suffring the thing, rather then geuing his cõsent to the matter, Meleager toke

his

his silence for a commaundement, and sent for Perdicas in the kynges name, and they whiche were sent had commission to kyll hym, if he made any sticking to come with them. Perdicas hearing of their comming, accompanied only with .xbi. yonge men that were of Alexanders guarde, mette them at the entrey of the house, and callyng them Meleagers slaues, rebuked them with suche a constancy both of mynde and countenaunce, that they returned back agayne as men amased. Perdicas wylled suche as were in his company to leape on horsebacke, and so with a fewe of hys frendes came vnto Leonatus, mynding if any violence were moued againste hym, to repulse it with a greater force. The next daye the Macedons grudged and thought it a matter vnworthy, that Perdicas after this manet should be brought in daunger of death, and therfore determined with force to reuenge the rashenes of Meleagers doynges.

But he vnderstanding the mutyne that was amonges the souldiers gaue place, and they repayred vnto the kyng demaundyng of hym if he had cōmaunded Perdicas to be taken. He cōfessed he had so done, but that was by Meleagers motion, whiche was no cause (he sayde) for them to make any stirre, seing that Perdicas was alyue. The assemble hereupon brake vp and Meleager became greatly afrayed, specially by the parting of the horsemen, so þ he wiste not what to do, for he sawe the mischief whiche he a little before had wrought against his enemy, lyke to light vpō him selfe, and whyles he deuysed this and that, three dayes were consumed. The wonted fourme and fa...on of the courte dyd remayne in the meane season.

For

For the Embassadours of diuers nacions made repaire vnto the kyng, the captaines of the army did assemble about him, and the guard wayted in armour as they were accustomed. But the great sadnes that was there without any apparant cause, signified some extreame dispaire. There was suche a suspicion amonges them selues, that men durst not company togethers, nor speake one to another, but stode imagening secretly with them selues, and by comparing the time present with the tyme past, and the new kyng with the olde, they began to desire hym that was gone. Then one enquired of another where he was become, whose fortune and authoritie they had folowed: Then they founde themselues abandoned amõges so many wyld nacions which were desirous vpon any occasion that might fall, to be reuenged of the iniuryes they had receyued. Whyles they were troubled in these imaginacions, worde was brought that the horsemen whiche were vnder Perdicas, kept the fieldes about Babylõ, and stayed the vitels, that was commyng to the cytie. Whereupon first beganne a scarsitie, and afterwardes a famyne. Therfore suche as were within the cytie thought good either to make a reconciliacion with Perdicas, or els to fight out the matter. It chaunsed that they which dwelled abrode in the countrey fearyng the spoyle of the villages, repayred into the cytie. And they within the cytie for lacke of vitelles, departed into the countrey. So that euery one thought them selues surer any where, then in their owne habitacions. Then the Macedons doubting some greate inconuenience that myght come of this feare, assembled together in the courte, and shewed furth their opinions. It was agreed amonges them that Embassadours shuld

Embassadours were sent about a reconciliacion.

be

be sent to the horsemen, for the surressing of all strife & deuision, Balus a Tessalion, Amillas a Megapolitan and Petelaus were sent from the kyng. Whiche declaring their commission, receiued answere, that the horsemen wold not seuer their power till the auctours of the sedicion were deliuered into their handes. When they were returned and their answere knowen, the souldiers without any appointment put on their armour, and made suche a tumult, that the kyng was enforced to come forth of the court, and saide vnto them: If we shalbe at strife amõges our selues, our enemies that be quiet, shall enioye the frute of our contencion. Remembre you that the quarell is with your own countreymen, with whome if ye rashly breake the hope of reconcilemẽt, ye shalbe the beginners of a ciuil warre. Let vs proue if the matter may be mitigated by an other Embassade. I am of opinion, that forasmuche as Alexãders body remayne yet vnburied, they will gladly come together, to perfourme the due vnto the dead. And for my parte, I had rather surrendre vp againe this dignitie, then any bloud should be shed de amõges my countreymen. For if no other hope of concorde do remayne I desire and pray you to chose this as the better of both. And with that worde he wepte, and pulled the diademe frõ his head, holding the same forth with his hande, redy to haue deliuered it to any man, that would haue claymed to be more worthy then he. The moderacion that he vsed both in his wordes, and his behauour, caused them all to cõceiue a great good hope of his noble nature, whiche til that time was obscured with the greatnes of his brothers fame. Thei therfore required and encouraged him to go forwardes in the matter as he had deuised. Whereupon he sent agayne

The kinges wordes vnto the souldiers.

the

the same for Embassadours that went before, whiche had commission to require, that Meleager might be the thirde capitayne. Whiche matter was not muche sticked at. For Perdicas was desirous to remoue Meleager from the kyng, and thought that he alone shold not be able to matche with Leonatus and hym. Upon this Meleager marched out of the cytie with the fotemen: and Perdicas met him in the fieldes, ryding before the bandes of the horsemen. Where bothe battailles saluting one an other, concorde, peace and amitie, was cõfirmed betwixt thẽ, for euer as it was thought. But it was decreed by destiny that ciuil warres shuld ryse amonges the Macedons. For gouernement is vnpacient of parteners, and the kingdome was coueted by many. Which as it first grewe in force, so afterwardes it was dispersed againe. And when the body was burdened more then it coulde beare, the other membres began to fall. So thempire of the Macedons whiche vnder one head might well haue stande, when it was deuided into partes, fell to ruyne. For whiche cause the people of Rome iustly must confesse them selues bound vnto their prince, for the felicitie they haue founde. Whiche as a starre in the nyght appeared vnto them, that were nere loste. And as the sunne gaue light to the worlde being in darkenes, when without suche a head, the membres that were at variaunce, muste nedes haue quayled. Howe many fyre brandes did he quenche: howe many swordes ready drawen dyd he put by agayne: Howe great a tempest did he pacifye with the sodayne caulme of his presence: The Empire now therfore doth ware grene and florysshe: Let me desire without enuye, that his house may continewe many ages and his posteritie remaine

A degression to the praise of thempe rour that was in the auctours tyme.

for

for euermore. But to returne againe to the order of
history, from whence I was brought through the con-
templacion of our vniuersal felicitie. Perdicas iudged
the only hope of his owne sauegarde, to consiste in the
death of Meleager, thinking it necessary to preuēt him
whiche was a man both variable, vnfaithful, geuen to
innouacion, and besides his mortall enemy. But with
deape dissimulaciō he kept his purpose secrete to thin-
tent that with ꝑ lesse difficultie, he might oppresse him
vnbewares. He did subornate therfore priuely certain
of the bandes that were vnder his rule, to complayne
openly (as though it were without his knowledge) that
Meleager shuld be made equal with him, which wordes
of the souldiers, whē they were reported vnto Melea-
ger, became in a great rage, & declared their sayenges
to Perdicas. Who semed to wonder at the matter, bla-
ming their doing, as though he had bene sory for the
thing, and finally they agreed that the auctours of such
seditious wordes shuld be taken. When Meleager
perceiued Perdicas so conformable, he embraced hym
and gaue him thankes for his fidelitie & beneuolence.
Thereby a consultacion had betwixt them both, they
deuised how to destroy them that wrought this deuisiō
betwixt them. For the bringing of that to passe they a-
greed, that tharmy shuld be purged according to their
countrey custome. For the doing wherof, they semed to
haue a sufficient occasion, by reason of the late discord
that was amōges thē. The kinges of Macedon in pu
rifiyng of their souldiers, were wonte to vse a kind of
ceremony, in deuiding the bowelles of a dogge in two
parties, & cast the same in the vttermoste boudes of the
field, wheron they purposed to bring furth the army.

Perdicas de
uised the
death of
Meleager.

A ceremony
that was vs
sed in the pu
rifiyng of
tharmy af-
ter any offe-
ce made.

Betwixt

Betwixt whiche space the men of warre, accustomed to stande armed, the horsemē, the mercenary souldiers and the phalanx euery one aparte. The same daye that this ceremony was put in execution, the kyng stoode with the horsemen & the Elephantes against the footemen of whome Meleager had the rule. When the battell of horsemen began to moue, the footemē were stroken sodainly with feare, and by reason of the late discorde, conceiued a suspicion that the horsemen ment them no good. Wherfore they stode a while in a doubt, whether they should retire into the cytie or no, by reason that the fieldes serued best for the horsemen. But lest without cause they myght condempne the fidelity of their companions, they stode still with a determinate mynde to fight, if any would proffer them violence. When the battailes were almoste mette together, and only a smalle distaunce left betwixt them, wherby the one parte was deuided from the other, the kyng by the prouocation of Perdicas with one bande of horsemen did ride along the footemen, requiring the deliuery of those to be executed, which wer the auctors of the discorde (whome in very dede he ought to haue defended) whiche if thei refused to deliuer, he threatened to bring against them both the horsemen and the Elephantes. The footemen were amased with the sodeines of the mischief whiche they loked not for, and there was no more counsell nor courage in Meleager then in the rest, but they all iudged it moste expedient for them, rather to abyde the aduēture of that matter, then further to hasard fortune. When Perdicas sawe them astonied and in feare, he seuered out to the nombre of three hundred of such as folowed Meleager, when he brake out of the assemble, that was first made, after Alexanders

ders death, whiche in the sight of all the armye were
caste to the Elephantes and there trampled to death
with their feete. Of which matter Philippe was nei-
ther the author, nor the forbyder, but thought to clanne
that for his owne doing, whiche should appeare best in
the ende. This was a signification and a beginning
vnto the Macedons of ciuill warre that ensued. Me-
leager vnderstanding ouerlate the slaughter of that de-
uise, because there was no violence offered to his per-
sone, stode at the first quietly without the square: but
shortly after, when he sawe his enemies abusing the
name of him, whome he had made king to his destruc-
cion, he dispaired of his own sauegarde, & fled into a
temple. But the religion of the place could not defend
him, but that he was there slayne. Perdicas thereupon The deuision of Thempire.
brought againe the armye into the citie, and called coun-
sell of all the principall personages, wherin it was a-
greed so to deuide thempire, that the kyng should re-
mayne as chief of the whole. Ptolomeus to be lieute-
naunt in Egipt and Affricke, and to haue the rule of
the nacions there, that were vnder the Macedons do-
minion. Siria and Phenices were appointed to Lao-
medon. Cylicia to Philotas. Licia with Pamphilia, &
the greater Phrygia, were assigned to Antigonus.
Calander was sent into Caria, and Menander into
Lydia. The lesser Phrygia that ioyned vnto Helle-
spont, was Leonatus prouince. Eumenes had Cappa
docia and Paphlagonia, who was commaunded to de-
fende that countrey so farre as Trapezunt, and make
warre to Arbates whiche only remained enemy to the Arbates.
Empire. Media was appointed to Python, and Thra-
ce to Lysimachus with other nacions there about bor-
dering vpon the sea of Ponte. It was ordeined also

that suche as shoulde be presidentes amonges the Indians, Bactrians, Sogdians and other nacions lieng vpon the Orcean and read seas, shoulde in matters of iustice vse regall iurisdiction. It was decreed that Perdicas shoulde remaine with the kyng, and haue the gouernaunce of the men of warre that folowed him. Some beleue that these prouinces were distributed, by Alexanders testament, but we haue found that same to be false, though some authors do witnes the same. The Empire being deuided into partes, euery one might well haue defended his portion, if any boundes could conteine mens immoderate desires. Or if they whiche being but ministers vnto a kyng, when vnder the colour of the administracion of an others dominiō had entroched into great kingdomes, could haue auoyded the occasions of warre, seing they were all of one nacion, and had their coūtreis by limittes. But it was hard for them to be contented with that they had in possession, when occasion was proffered them of more. For the first thynges alwayes appeare of no valure, when men be in hope of greater thynges to come. So that euery one of them thought it an easier matter to encrease his kyngdome, then it was to come by it at the firste. Alexanders body had layen seuen dayes vnburied, for whyles euery man had care vpon the establysshing of the state, their myndes were drawen from doing of that solempne office.

There is no countrey that haue more feruent heat then Mesopotamia. For the sonne there burneth so hote that it killeth the beastes that be without couert, and burne vp all thynges, as it were with the fyer. And to the encrease therof there be fewe springes of water, and the inhabiters vse suche policy in hiding of

those

those they haue, that straūgers can haue no vse of thē. This notwithstandinge, when Alexanders frendes had gotten leasure to take care of the deade corse, and came to visite the same, they founde it wythout infection, corruption, or chaunge of coloure, the same cherefulnes whiche consisteth of the spirite, not beynge yet departed out of his countenaunce. Then the Egipcians and the Caldeis were commaunded to dresse hys bodye after their maner, who at the firste (as though he had bene aliue) durst not put their handes to him. But afterwardes makyng their prayers that it might be lawfull for mortall men to touche him, they purged his bodye, and filled it wyth swete odours. And afterwardes layed him vpon a hearse of golde, and set a diademe vpon his heade.

Many thought that he dyed of poyson, & that Iolla Antipaters sōne beyng one of his ministers, had geuē him the same. Alexander oftentimes would saye, that Antipater coueted the estate of a kinge, affecting more greatnes, then parteined to a Lieutenaūt, and through glorie of the victory he had gotten of the Lacedemonians, was become so proude, that he claymed al thinges committed vnto him as his owne. It is thought also that Craterus was sente to kyll him with those olde souldiours that were dismissed. It is certayne that there is a poyson in Macedon founde in a water called Stiges, of suche force, that it consumeth yron, and will not be conteined in any thinge, sauing in the houe of an horse or mule, which poison was brought by Cassander, and deliuered to his brother Iolle, whiche presented it in the drinke that the kinge last dronke. Howsoeuer these thinges be reported, the power of them of whō the rumour wēt, shortly after oppressed ỹ infamy. Stiges.

For Antipater betame kynge bothe of Macedon and of Gregce, and his chyldren after him, that dyd put to death all ſuche as were anye thynge neare of kynne vnto Alexander. Ptolomeus whiche had the rule of Egipte conueyed Alexanders bodye to Memphis, whiche within fewe yeares after was remoued to Alexandria, where as all honoure is geuen to the memorye of him, and to his name.

Finis.

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Sum Ric. Stanlei liber pr. [illegible]